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 Reviv'd here shews his pilgrimage,
 Now in the last scene of his age :
 The short remainder, sharpe or sweet,
 Expect till death shall make complete.



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NARRATION OF THE LIFE OF Mr. Henry Burton.

pay 50

WHEREIN

Is set forth the various and remarkable Passages thereof, his Sufferings, Supports, Comforts, and Deliverances.

Now published for the Benefit of all those that either doe or may suffer for the Cause of CHRIST.

According to a Copy written with his owne Hand.

PHIL. I. 21.

Christ is to me, to live, and to dye.

Dum patior pro Christo, potior Christo.

LONDON:
Printed for JOHN ROTHWELL at the Signe
in Pauls Church-yard. 1643.



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The Preface to the Reader.

Christian Reader,



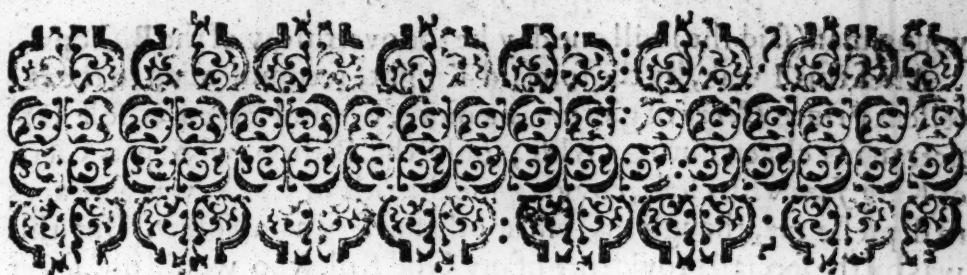
May say, as old Iacob, and no lesse truly, few
and evill have the dayes of the yeares of my
pilgrimage been. For prooffe hereof, As it is
with a Mariner, or traveller, who after a
long Voyage, comming within ken of his na-
tive Country, begins to recount with him-
selfe the many hazzards he hath run. Gen. 47. 9.

by terrible stormes in the midst of Rocks and shelves, what by pi-
rates, and other perills; all which having now waded out of,
and overcome, and arriving at his wished port, after thanksgiv-
ing to God for bringing him to the haven where he would be; Psa 107. 30.
he lets him downe, and (to recreate himselfe and friends) begins
to discourse of his travells, and of the most memorable passages
therein: So is it now with me. Onely, I cannot yet say, that after
so long, tedious, and perillous a Voyage as I have passed through by
Sea and Land, every where attended and assailed by fierce tempests
and Pyrates, I have already arrived at the Port or Haven, which
I have long wished for, to wit, my celestiall Countrey, and which
through the Perspective Glasse of Faith I can as yet (in compa- 1 Cor. 13.
rison) at such a distance, but darkly discover. For although by
his divine providence, whose exiled prisoner I have lately been,
I am now deliverd from that (otherwise perpetuall) prison and
exile: yet I still carry about with me the manicles and fetters

The Preface.

*of this mortall and sinfull body, which I cannot be freed from, untill I have paid my * prison-fees, that so my soule may flit out of this her earthly tabernacle to her heavenly mansion.*
Nor is it unusuall for men to set forth a description of their owne lives. Moses did so. David so. Paul so. And who fitter then a mans selfe, as being best acquainted with, and most privy to the many passages of his life. Nor had I undertaken this taske, but partly to satisfie the importunity of many godly friends, and partly to give a just account to Gods people of that divine support and comfort, which it pleased the Lord to uphold mee with, in all my tryalls. To which purpose I may use the Apostles words: Blessed be God even the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ the Father of Mercies, and the God of all consolation, who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any affliction, by the comfort, wherewith wee our selves are comforted of God. As also the words of David, Come and hearken, all ye that feare God, and I will tell you what he hath done for my soule. And these are they especially, to whom next unto Iesus Christ the Righteous Iudge, as I owe my life, so I ought to give an account thereof. For the rest, I am not ashamed to make my selfe herein a spectacle even to those that are without, this being but an anticipation, seeing we must all appeare before the Iudgement Seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evill. Farewell.

HEN. BURTON.



A Narration of the Life of Mr. Henry Burton.



MY birth and breeding was at *Birdsall*, an obscure Towne in Yorkshire; and the more obscure, as having never had a preaching Minister time out of minde, long before I was borne, nor (for ought I know) to this very day. Norwithstanding my Parents were piously affected, they would correct us, their children (whereof they had many) and that severely, if we swore an oath, or neglected the Church, or made a lie. Me, of all the rest, they kept at School, my mother encouraging me with often shewing me a new Testament in English, which she kept lockt up (it having beene my Grandfathers in *Queene Marias* dayes) promising it me, when I could read it; so as afterwards I was put to read every night two or three Chapters in it to the Family. In time they sent me to the University of *Cambridge*, and placed me in the Colledge called *St. Johns*, where I proceeded Master of Arts: In which time it was my happinesse to be a constant hearer of Mr. *Chatterton*, and Mr. *Perkins* on the Lords day. For from my first entrance in the Colledge, it pleased God to open mine eyes by their ministry, so as to put a difference betweene their sound teaching, and the University Sermons, which favoured more of humane wit, then of Gods word. Thus I had, and for ever have cause to admire and adore the goodnesse of God, who thus brought me out of darknesse, into his marvellous light. Some time after I was in the house of a Noble Knight, for the education of his two sonnes, in which time, with them sojourning awhile with a religious * *Matron* of worthy * *Mrs Borne* memory, and having often conference with her, she took such notice at *Aske*, of my spirit then, and chiefly of my zeale against the Prelates pride neer *Richmond* in the North, and practices that she said then to some (yet surviving) of me, This young

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A Narration of the Life

young man (said she) will one day be the overthrow of the Bishops.

After this I was, by the foresaid Knight, recommended to the excellent Prince *Henry* of glorious memory, whom I served as sole Officer in his closets during his life; only the Bishop, who was Clerk of King *James* his closet, envying me the title of Clerk, was a meanes to depreſſe me, though my office otherwise was absolute. But this was by the ſpeciall providence of my God ſtill, who would not ſuffer me to riſe high in Court, leſt I ſhould have beene corrupted with the preferments of it. Nor had I learned the art of ambition to climb up that ladder, in ſo much as I would often ſay to a familiar friend in Court, that I wondred wherefore I lived in Court, conſidering my naturall indiſpoſition to a Court-life, as alſo how the greateſt benefit I found by my office was, that it afforded me time for my private ſtudies, which I hoped God would in time bring me forth to make more publicke uſe of; and then I ſhould know why I had ſo lived thus long in Court. And in that time under Prince *Henry*, I writ a Treatiſe in Latine of Antichriſt, which in a Manuſcript I preſented to him, with an Epistle Dedicatory, and which he graciously accepted, cauſing it to be kept in his Library at S. James.

2 Cor. 2.16

After his much lamented deceaſe, I was continued in the ſame place and office to Prince *Charles*, when God ſtirred up my heart to enter into the Miniſtry, being then above thirty yeares of age, but yet too ſoone, as having not yet ſufficiently learned to weigh that Text of the Apoſtle, *And who is ſufficient for theſe things?* or yet the right way of a Miniſters externall call, which the ignorance and ſloth of thoſe times had not learned to walk in. In that time I writ a Treatiſe againſt Simony, entituled, *A Censure of Simony*: Alſo another Book, entituled, *Truths triumph over Trent*; wherein I unfolded that myſtery of iniquity packed up in the ſixth ſeſſion of that Councell, encountring therein thoſe two Champions of the Councell, *Andreas Vega*, and *Dominicus Soto*: Theſe two Books were publiſhed *Cum Privilegio*, though with much adoe obtained of the Archbiſhops Chaplains, in thoſe, not then full growne ripe, evill times. Yet they ripened ſo faſt, *Abbot of Canterbury* yet living, that I could not obtaine of his Chaplain the liſenſing of an answer of mine to a Jeſuits Book, entituled, *The converted Jew*, which he boldly had dedicated to both our Universities: And I underſtood he durſt not doe it, for two cauſes: firſt, becauſe in that Answer I had upon occaſion conſuted the Arminian Heresies: ſecondly, becauſe therein I proved the Pope

Pope to be the Antichrist. Which two things began in those dayes to be *Noli me tangere*, and fewell for the High Commission furnace, proving afterwards pillary-offences inexpressible, never to be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. Which after times, being hastened on by the immature death of King *James*, have beene the only causes that have made his life desireable; as *Titus Livius* said of *Hieronymus* of *Syracusa*, *Qui solus Patrem desiderabilem fecit.*

Well, King *James* being dead (whether so, or so, or otherwise, time hath not yet examined) and King *Charles* succeeding; I shall now acquaint you with a notable passage of divine Providence, in parting the Court and me asunder. For I understanding that the Bishop, the old Clerk, should still continue in that Office, and that the King had designed me for some other inferiour Office; and observing also that with *Neale*, *Lawd* also should be continually about the King: I saw there would be no abiding for me in Court any longer. Yet before I went, I thought I was bound in conscience, by vertue of my place, to informe the King of these men, how popishly affected they were, simply imagining, that the King either did not so well know their qualities, or that perhaps he might be put upon second thoughts, by considering the dangerous consequences of entertaining such persons so neere about him, as I presented to his Majesty in a large letter to that purpose. Which letter he read a good part of, I standing before him; but perceiving the scope of it, he gave it me againe, and bade me forbear any more attendance in my Office untill he should send for me. Whereupon, though for the present my spirits were somewhat appalled, and dejected, yet going home to my house in *London*, and there entering into a serious meditation of Gods Providence herein, how fairely he had now brought me off from the Court, when I saw such Lords were like to domineere, and how I might doe God and his Church better service in a more retired life, as wherein I was in no danger of Court-Preferments, thereby to bee cowardized from encountering such Giants as began already to threaten the Hoste of *Israel*, and against whose power I thought *Sauls* armour would give me small defence, but much hinder me rather: I hereupon began to recollect my scattered spirits, resolving now after almost twice seven yeares service, quite to forsake the Court; which I did signifie by another letter to a friend of mine of great place neere unto the King; so as the King hath said, that I put away him, and not hee me. However it pleased him to say so, yet I had abundant cause to blesse God, and

daily to rejoyce with exceeding joy, that I was now freed from the Court, which joy hath now continually increased ever since to this very day without intermission.

M. Montague after
B of Chichester,
then of
Norwich.

Thus having bid the Court farewell, I kept me close to the Ministry of the Word, and besides my weekly preaching every Lords day twice, I answered sundry erroneous and heterodox Bookes set forth by the Prelats, and those of the Prelaticall party. As 1. *Montagues Book*, styled, *An Appeal to Caesar*: the first part whereof defended all the *Arminian* Heresies, and the second was to maintain many grosse points of Popery. And Dr. *Francis White* prefixed his Approbation to both. My answer to the first part was published in print: but that to the second was by the *Egyptian Task-masters* strangled in the birth, being upon the breaking up of the Parliament, taken tardie in the Presse as it was a printing.

A second Book, to which I made and published an Answer in time of Parliament, was *Cofens Private Devotions*, or *Houres of Prayer*, to which his Popish Canonick Houres I framed a fit Diall.

A third was a Book of Dr. *Hall* B. of *Excester*, wherein he affirmed the Church of *Rome* to be a true Church. Which in a Treatise of mine upon the 7. Vials I occasionally confuting, and Mr. *Cholmley* his Chaplen, and Mr. *Butterfield* another Minister, making each of them a severall reply, I thereupon made one full answer to them both, so as both fate down, and replied no more; and Dr. *Hall* himselfe would salve or rather dawbe up the matter, by begging the suffrages of two Bishops, and two Docters, who so shuffled together each his own Cards, that they easily made one pack. And wel might they both shuffle, pack, cut, and deale, when no answer was permitted to be published. But for all that, my *Babel no Bethel*, remains intire, and unshaken by any of their breaths, saving that some of their black mouths laboured to besmeare me with their proud scorne. And for so writing against the Church of *Rome*, as no true Church of Christ, and because such kind of Bookes were printed without licence when none could be obtained I was brought the first and second time into the High Commission whence I had not escaped without cindging at least, to make me sme of it ever after, if not stigmatizing either in my name or purse, had not come in time to procure a Prohibition in the Court of Justice, before the doore was shut, which was not long after, the Bishop having a little before my Prohibition threatned in open Court, that whosoever after that of Mr. *Pryns* then tendered, should be the next (which

fell to my lot) to dare to bring a Prohibition there, he would set him fast by the heeles. But instead of setting me by the heeles, he hung me up by the head; for the next morning after that my Prohibition was tendered in Court, whereat the whole Board was husht, he sent his Pursuivant for me, and anew quarrelled with me for my late preaching against bowing at the Name Jesus; and though I told him that it was first injoyned by the Pope, and shewed by Scripture it had no ground there: yet he proceeded to suspend me from preaching. But I appealing from him to the Arches of *Canterbury* (which afterwards I came to see, was no better then to goe from the black Witches incantment to be healed with the Spell of the White Witch) and held him so to it, that he was glad to loose me againe from my suspension.

Another Book of my writing, styled, *Israels Fast*, being published at a generall Fast, brought me again into their High Commission extraordinarily called for that purpose onely, where they examined me what, or whom I meant by *Achan*: I answered, the Jesuiticall Faction; and no more could they squeeze from me, so as not knowing what to do with me, they let me goe.

Another Book I wrote, and published, and that by license too casually, intituled, *The baiting of the Popes Bull*; for Pope Urban the 8. had sent forth his roaring Bull among his Roman Catholikes in *England*, to incite them to be in a readinesse, whensoever occasion was ministred for the promoting of the Catholike Cause, as they usually call it: This was an Alarme, or preparative to arme them for that plot, which was then a contriving, and which we see now marching forth into the field, expecting some desperate issue. This Bull passed up and down City and Countrey without controule, untill, so soon as it came to my hands, I fastned upon it. Well, hereupon the Bull roared so lowd, that the bellowing was heard to the Counsell board. This baiting was made a heinous offence against the State, as being done without acquainting the board, which gives leave both to Bear-baiting, and Bull-baiting. Thither I was summoned, where I found six of the Councell sitting of purpose to examine me about it, whereof two were, *Neale* of *Durham*, and *Lawd* of *London*. By these I was soundly baited for 2. or 3. houres together. They would have made my Book against that Bull, a Libell. God put into my mouth an answer to all their questions, though some were very captious and insnaring. For it was ever my care to observe my Master Christ his Counsell, being

called before Counsels (*Mark. 11. 13, 15.*) not to premeditate what or how to answer; and accordingly I found his promise most true; for it was given me that houre what to answer, even when I was so put to it sometimes, that I knew not what to answer, till darting up a prayer, I had such an answer put in my mouth, as put to silence the opposer. And in fine I was sent home without any Censure.

Only let me here take occasion to relate a pretty passage that fell out upon this Booke. In the Frontispiece was a picture of *K. Charles* on the one side with a sword putting off the Popes Triple Crown over against it. Which when I shewed to a little Daughter I then had of 3. yeares old in her mothers hands, telling her the meaning of those two pictures, she presently replied, *O Father, our King shall cut off the Popes head; it must be so, it must be so*: Which words she uttered with that vigour of spirit, and vehemency of speech, that we exceedingly wondered at it, saying, *It was not impossible*. And I do now the more look after the full accomplishment of her words, as of a prophecy put into a Babes mouth, When of late we have seen one of those, *It must be so*, fulfilled in *Scotland*; so as we may hope to see the other *It must be so*, fulfilled in *England*, when God shall put the like necessity of *It must be so*, and that redoubled, in cutting off the Popes head in the *English Hierarchy* by the Regall Sword. But this by the way.

Another time after that (when the Duke of *Buckingham* was at the Ile of *Ree*, the while the poore *Rockellers* and the bravest Chevalry of *England* were betrayed unto the *French*,) was I summoned to the Counsell Board; but for what cause, I could not come to know: for between the Summons, and day of appearance, came the Duke home. So as I having waited all the afternoon at the Counsell Chamber, doore, I was not so much as talled in, nor sent for any more, but once for a show without examination. Now I had a little before in a Sermon on the 5. of *November* spoken of fundry fore-running signes of the ruine of a State, which upon that return of the Duke, would not (it seemes) indure the Examination. Nor was my time yet come; I was to wait for another 5. of *November*; all these troubles hitherto being but as it were so many velitations, or light skirmishes in comparison, before the main Battell; my Captain training me up by degrees so many yeeres, to fit me the better for the great incounter, which he had fore-appointed me unto. Which great incounter, because (all circumstances weighed) it wants example; it will not (I hope) be more tedious to posterity to read or heare, then it was for me to undergoe it.

And

And I have the rather published these things at this time, because it may commend the credit thereof to after-ages by those who have been eye-witnesses of all.

Notwithstanding all these troubles and vexations hitherto, which the Prelates, and their confederates, whose Captaine was * *London*, * *Dr. Lawd* continually pursued and exercised me withall, yet my spirit was carried on with a mighty and undaunted courage, which my God put into me, and so much the more, as these men grew the more audacious and outrageous both in opposing and oppressing the Gospel it selfe in the Ministry and Ministers thereof, and in erecting and imposing *Romes* rotten Reliques in all the High places of the Land. I could not be silent nor patient, to see such things. Nor could all their terrours, though armed with the greatest power on earth, deterre me. Yea, I was never fuller of spirit, nor freer of speech, then when I encountred *London* face to face. Infomuch, as on a time being summoned by a Pursuivant to *London-house*, and waiting there all alone without till the Bishop, accompanied with his Chancellour and Register should send for me in, the while my thoughts were busied in searching what the cause might be (which was my weaknesse then) I was at length no sooner called in, but seeing the Bishop in his Chaire, with his said Officers about him, ready to examine me, there came upon me as it were the spirit of a Lyon all the while I was before them, so as they were amazed with my Answers. And another time, in the same place, when the Bishop in his Chaire was proudly insulting over me standing at the other end of the Table, and a friend of mine standing by, I (thinking thus with my selfe, What doe I standing here to heare such language) did thereupon without replying, turn my back, and goe towards the doore to be gone, and looking back for my friend to follow, the Bishop at that very instant changed his note, and began to speak me as faire, as possibly could be, whereupon I came towards him againe, saying with n my selfe, that if he spake reason, I would heare him. Nor was at any time before him, but methought I stood over him, as a Schoolmaster over his School-boy. So great was the goodnesse of God upon me. Anther time, I being convented at a High-Commission Board at *London-house*, about my fore-said Book, *Babel no Bethel*, *Harsenet* then Archbishop of *Torke* having run himselfe out of breath with railing against me and my Book (a speciall faculty, wherein his Grace exceeded) at length saying, that I had dedicated my Book to the Parliament incensethem against the Higher Powers (he meant the King) then I answered,

* *Dr. Lawd*
then Bi-
shop of
London.

answered, No, my Lord, I am none of them that divide the King and Parliament, but I pray God to unite them together. At this he had never a word more to say; For this was presently after that Parliament was broken up, wherein the Petition of Right was signed: so that he knew better who they were, which at that time divided the King from the Parliament. Well, at the same time I must to prison, and tending bale, *London* answered, No, for (said he) the King had given expresse charge, that no baile should be taken for me. Then, my Lord (said I) I desire to know by what Law or Statute of the Land you doe imprison me; if it be according to Law, I humbly submit my selfe; otherwise I doe here claime the right and priviledge of a subject, according to the Petition of Right: but nor Petition, nor Right, nor Law, could keep me from prison. To the Fleet I went, where stepping in, and saying to the Porter, By your leave; and he answering, You are welcome Sir; I thanked him, saying, that is some comfort yet. But I found the comforts of my God there exceedingly, it being the first time of my being a Prisoner, saving that I was still, and had beene a long time, in the High Commission Bonds, which restrained my liberty to the scantling of that tether.

But I hasten to the maine Battalion, or pitcht battell with the Prelates, and their prelatie party. For I more and more disliked their usurpations, and tyrannicall Government, with their attempts to set up Popery: Therefore I purposely preached upon the second Chapter to the *Colossians*, crying downe all will-worship, and humane inventions in Gods service. Hereupon I began in my practice, as in my judgement, to fall off from the ceremonies. Only I watched for an occasion to try it out with them, either by dint of Arguments, or force of Law, or by the King and his Counsell, resolving of this, that by this means I should either foile my adversaries (though I had no great hope this way) or at least (which I was sure not to faile of) discover the mystery of iniquity, and the deceit of hypocrisie, which like a white vail they had cast over all their foule practices, and false pretences, being woven with the fine thread of solemne Protestations, Declarations, Proclamations, and the like. And this discovery I tooke to be of a small importance and consequence, because I saw how every day they got ground in the hearts of simple and credulous people, apt to beleieve their plausible pretences, and pompous shewes of piety, as if all that did, were to maintain the Protestant Religion, when under that precious colour the withered whore of Babylon came in maskd at the

till at length she began to shew her painted face in her Superstitious Altar-service, and other garbs. And as they laboured to undermine, and overthrow the true Protestant Religion, and in stead thereof to set up Popery; so they did no lesse seeke to overthrow the Civill state, with the good lawes thereof, and just liberties of the subject, and to introduce an arbitrary Government, otherwise called Tyranny, which taketh away every mans property in his owne goods and estate, as plainly appeared by all their practices, as in exacting of shipmoney, which was to be perpetuall, and sometimes twice imposed in one yeare, (upon some pretence of forraigne enemies, when we had cause to feare none, but our home-bred traitours) and other impositions, with a thousand monopolies. Of all which I being not a little sensible, both as I was a poore servant of Christ, and therefore bound to vindicate his cause against Antichristian men: and also as a free borne subject of the kingdom, as one who ever prized the just libertie of my birthright above this life it selfe: I therefore thought how I might best acquit my duty both to God, and to his Church, and to my Country, in defending the cause of both.

To this purpose, on the fifth of Noxember, 1636 (being a day, by Act of Parliament to be solemnized in an anniversary solemne thanksgiving for that great deliverance of King and Parliament from the Gunpowder-treason, which Popish traytors conspired to have executed on that day, 1625.) I preached (according to my custome) two Sermons, taking for my Text *Prov. 24. 21, 22. My sonne, feare thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change: For their calamity shall arise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both?* But before I proceed to a further relation hereof, let me tell you of a passage or two falling out but a little before my troubles. The first was this, A reverend godly Minister (Mr Williamson of Kent) having newly preached in my Church, upon *Acts 21. 13.* and we having some private conference of his Text and Sermon, I said to him in the close, Well brother, I must be an example hereof one day. The other was of a strange dreame I had one night, not many dayes before this day came: I dreamed (lodging then at a deare friends house in Stratford Bow neere London) that I saw a most magnificent Pallace, the like whereof I never saw upon the earth; and therein a most glorious throne erected, and in the throne Jesus Christ sitting in Majesty, but all alone, without any attendance of Angels or Saints about him, only there lay all along before the throne a man dead, with his feet
C towards

towards Christ, and his face upward the other way. But after awhile the dead man was raised up, and stood upon his feet, looking towards the throne: Whereupon immediately there appeared about the throne an innumerable company of glorious Angels and Saints, exceedingly rejoycing and praising God for restoring life to that man. This dreame I told in the morning to my wife, and after that to my deare Christian friends in the house (all yet surviving) to whom I also made this interpretation; that this dead man was the present Church of Christ, which now lay for dead, and none took the care of it but Christ alone; but after awhile Christ would restore his Church to life, and set her in a glorious estate, as one raised from the dead to the state of glory; and then all the holy Angels and Saints should rejoyce, and sing Hallelujahs to him that sits upon the Throne. And this I told them should most certainly come to passe, and that shortly, so as they should live to see it. And so being to goe to *London* that morning, I took my leave thereupon, saying, Well, what ever come on it, I must to my work. And this work proved to be that aforesaid (*Nov 5.*) When having preached those Sermons, I was not long after summoned by a Pursuivant into the English Inquisition Court, the High Commission; from which I presently appeald to the King: And because I foresaw that this would prove a publick cause, and putting no confidence either in my Appeale, or in the equity and innocency of my cause, or in the just lawes of the Kingdome, being fallen into such times, wherein nor law, nor conscience, nor innocency, nor justice, nor clemency, nor humanity, could take place; but that some unjust, odious censure must stigmatize both the cause and the person: therefore I shut my selfe up in my house, as in my prison, and there did compile my two said Sermons, with my Appeale, in one Book, to the end it might be published in print, as it was, sheet by sheet as I writ it; the while the Prelates Pursuivants, those barking Beagles, ceased not night nor day to watch, and rap, and ring at my doores, to have surpris'd me in that my Castle, nor yet to search and hunt all the Printing houses about *London*, to have prevented the coming forth of my Book, which they heard to be at the Presse. But God, by his good providence, so prevented them, as neither they could touch my person, before I had finished my Book, nor yet prevent the publishing thereof, for all their unwearied search. And here I may not omit to magnifie the great Name of God, especially for two things. First, for his admirable strengthening and supporting presence in so carrying up my spirit all the while of my writing that Book, (entituled

intituled, *For God and the King, together with the Appeale, &c.*) that not all the incessant roarings, and ballings of those beagles could either interrupt my work, or distract my thoughts, or discourage my resolution, by any the least apprehension or feare of danger; but that with all cheerfulness and invincibleness of spirit the work was finished. Secondly, the Lords wonderfull Providence is here to be admired, in that the Pursuivants had no power, either to apprehend my person, or to prevent the publishing of my Book: but just that night, when I had received some dozens of Copies bound up, and the Books for the King and Councell were a binding up, and nor sooner, nor later, having also newly concluded the Family-duties for that night, came the Serjeant at Armes, with his Mace, in the Bishop of *Londons* name, accompanied with divers Pursuivants, and other Officers; yea with the Sheriffe of *London*, with swords and halberds, and with pick-axes, fell a breaking up my doores, which being strong, and I making no resistance, held them work till eleven of the Clock; They break in, surprise my person, ransack my study, carry away what Books they pleased, and carry me away prisoner to a Constables house for that night; and the next day at night, being Febr. 2. they had got a new warrant from the Councell Board, to carry me to prison in the Fleet, where I was kept close prisoner from wife, or friend, and so remained for halfe a yeate, till I was removed to another prison, as you shall heare anon. During my abode in the Fleet, I was served with a Writ into the Starre Chamber, to answer an information thereagainst me, drawn up by the Kings Atturney in the Name of the King, notwithstanding my said Appeale not yet repealed. But all is one for that. With much difficulty, being all along close prisoner, I get my Answer drawne up by Counsell, and the same by speciall Order of Starre-Chamber, admitted in Court upon my Oath to be a true Answer: Above a week after I heare, that the two Chiefe Justices, by appointment of the Court, have quite expunged my Answer and defence, contained in 80 sheets; leaving only the negative part, and that also of their owne patching together, contained in some halfe a dozen lines. Thus my Answer in Court is left no Answer of mine. After this comes the Examiner for my Answer to his interrogatories, which was to be reckoned part of my Answer in Court: But I answered him, that my Answer in Court being wholly expunged, and so made no Answer of mine; I was not bound to answer the interrogatories. Hereupon I was brought into the Starre-Chamber, to be censured by all those ter-

Ter. 15. 21. **terrible ones; pro confesso**, as having refused to put in my Answer, when indeed themselves had put it out. What I then spake for my selfe by leave of the Court, which had already the day before set downe my Censure in black and white; and what the Censure was, and by whom, I referre to the Relation of all the passages of our three sufferings, set forth at large in Print, 1648. Only thus much, when I saw that they would proceed to censure (notwithstanding they did not, nor could object the least crime in all my Book, *For God and the King*; but that they said, I was too sharp against the Prelates) having obtained leave to speak, I said, My Lords, I perceive I am brought into a great strait, that of necessity I must either desert my cause and my conscience, or undergoe the Censure of this Honourable Court: and therefore I doe without any further deliberation, choose rather to abide the Censure of this Honourable Court, then to desert my Cause & my conscience. Hereat the Audience gave a great humme. But when they came to the censure, it was so terrible, especially the perpetuall close imprisonment in a desolate goale; that (lest my spirits should faint within me) I did there earnestly in my heart entreat the Lord, that he would strengthen me, and hold up my spirits, that I might not any way dishonour the cause, or give those terrible ones cause to triumph.

Entituled
A new discovery of
Prelati all
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Luke 23.
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Exod. 19. 4

And at that very instant the Lord heard me, he put such strength in me, as neither my selfe, nor my two Brethren did once change countenance, before those terrible ones, so as some of them afterwards said, that they never saw three such men, who instead of being daunted, so stood before the Court, as if they had sit in the Judges place. And forasmuch as the night before a friend came to me in the Fleet, and told me he saw my Censure set down in their Book, as standing on the Pillory, &c. I did therefore that night * redouble my prayer to God, that he would strengthen me at my Censure, so as I might not dishonour him and his Cause the next day before that great Court. And immediately upon my prayer I was filled with a mighty spirit of courage and resolution, wherewith I was carried up farre above my selfe, even as it were upon *Eagles wings*. And hereupon again I prayed, intreating the Lord that he would be pleased to keep up my spirits at the height, to the which he had now raised them; the answer of which Prayer I found, not only all the next day of my Censure, but throughout all my sufferings, which that Censure produced.

After the Censure, (which was Deprivation, Degradation, standing on the Pillary two houres, losse of both eares by the hangman

five thousand pound fine to the King, perpetuall close imprisonment in
 the Castle of *Lancaster*, restraint of all use of pen, inke, and paper) I
 was brought back to my close prison in the *Fleet* (*June 14. 1647.*)
 where I waited till the day of Execution, which was the last day of
June. In the interim, my wife, with Mrs. *Bastwicke*, plyed the King
 with their pittisfull complaining Petitions and deprecations, for the
 taking off, or at least the mitigating of the execution: but a little be-
 fore the day came, a voyce was heard in the Starre-Chamber, uttered
 by the Attorney-Generall, That it was the Kings pleasure, the Censure
 of those 3. men should be executed to the uttermost: So as the execu-
 tion proved to be as void of Mercy, as the Censure was of Justice. The
 night before the Execution, I did, as before the Censure, addresse my
 selfe by earnest prayer for divine support in the acting of that Trage-
 dy upon the scaffold of publick reproach. Filled I was with exceeding
 alacrity of truly Heroicall, and Christianly magnanimous resolution.
 My two supporters (next under God) were, the noblenesse and pure
 innocency of the Cause, and the uprightness and integrity of my con-
 science With these I went on foot the next morning from the Fleet to
 the place of Execution at *Westminster*, farre better guarded, then with
 those many halberds and weapons that attended me. My wife had the
 favour to goe all along with me, going together with this equipage,
 as to the celebration of our marriage. When I came in sight of the
 Pillary, my spirit was mightily cheered, and my heart raised up to a
 higher pitch of joy. I said to one, a little before my going up to the
 Pillary, I shall this day preach downe Antichrist in the Pillary: And
 say nothing, replied he: yea, said I, and say nothing. This was omit-
 ted in the Relation forementioned. All the while I stood in the Pillary,
 I thought my selfe to be in Heaven, and in a state of glory and tri-
 umph, if any such state can possibly be on earth. I found those words
 of *Peter* uerified on me in the Pillary, *If ye be reprovved for the Name*
of Christ, happy are ye; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you,
which on their part is blasphemed, but on yours, glorified. For my re-
 joycing and glorying was so great all the while, without intermission,
 in the Pillary, that I can no more expresse it, then *Paul* could his ra-
 vishments in the third heaven: so as I could best, and most truly say.
 Amen to those words of a godly woman, going along in the troope
 neere Charing Crosse, at my returne from banishment to *London*,
 (which God was also pleased to cloth with so great glory) she said to
 me, O Sir, this is a glorious wedding day; to whom I replied, It is

Mr. Price
 in Cole-
 man street
 London.

1 Pet. 4. 14.

2 Cor. 13.

indeed, blessed be God; I, said she, but your wedding day on the Pillary was much more glorious: I admiring the womans speech, answered, It is indeed most true, good woman, blessed be our God.

After the execution, I was carried againe the same day to my Fleet prison, where mine eares, after the Chirurgions bloodletting, were a healing till towards the end of July; when, before they were quite healed, I was hastened away to *Lancaster*, July 28. having said the night before to a religious Matron of *London* visiting of me, 'I must now (said I-) prepare for my exile, not thinking then of any further exile, then *Lancaster* Castle, being an exile in mine owne Countrey. On the day appointed I passed on horseback from the Fleet through Smithfield, where for throng of people all along I could not passe, but very slowly, though the Keeper hastened all he could, who fretted to see so many thousands all the way we went, he reckoning the number to be forty thousand. By the way so many taking me by the hand, pressed the very blood out at my fingers ends, but with another minde then the great ones drew the blood out at mine eares. I rid to *S. Albons* that night, being accompanied all the way with above five hundred horse of loving friends, which the Keeper also much envied. Many staid there all night, but were not suffered to sup with me, no nor to see my face. Nay the Keeper was so strict, that he would scarce suffer my wife, who went along, to dresse mine eares. Comming to *Daventry*, it exceedingly refreshed me, that I had the sight, and a little society of that holy and reverend Father, Mr *John Dod*, who came two or three miles off to see me; as also his effectuall fervent prayer for me and my wife, calling me his sonne, and her his daughter. At *Coventry* two worthy and reverend brethren, Mr *Nalton*, and Mr *Hughes*, with their wives, came also to salute me and bid me farewell; In our short discourse, they rejoycing and congratulating Gods gracious and mighty assisting of me in my suffering, and my happinesse therein: I answered, I have cause to blesse God more for this suffering, then for all outward blessings in the world, and I account this to be one great part of my happinesse, that I have now cast off that yoke of the Prelates, under which I had so long groaned; but I promise you, said I, it did cling and cleave so close to my neck, that I could not shift it off; but that it shaved off mine eares. And when at our parting they were very sad; I laboured to comfort them; saying, Come be not sad; for three yeares and a halfe hence we shall meet againe and be merry: which I spake alluding to the three dayes and a halfe, the time of the two witnesses lying

lying unburied; of which speech we shall have occasion to speak more anon.

There also one of those godly women, saying unto me, O sir you are in a happy estate, you are past all danger, and sure of Heaven; but for us, what shall we doe? I replied, that the assurance of Heaven cannot secure us from manifold temptations and afflictions, and snares of Satan, so long as we live in these houses of clay. And therefore we have need continually to stand upon our watch and ward, and to pray one for another, having so malicious and unwearied an Adversary, whom neither close imprisonment, nor Iron Gates and Barres can hinder from assaulting us.

On the 3. of *August*, being saturday, we came to *Lancaster*, and on the 5. being Monday, the Keeper brought me into the Castle, where the Keeper thereof, under the Sheriffe, received me. There he sitting in *John of Gaunts* old Chaire, fell to speak his pleasure of me, and to censure me for what I had done: To whom I said, Sir it is your office to be my Goaler, not my Judge. Well, in short, lodging he had none for me, no bedding, no furniture, so as if he had not been enjoined to keep me up close, that none should come at me, he would surely have put me among the common Theeves and Rogues in the common Jayle. For he would find no other roome for me, but a vast desolate roome within the Iron Gate of the Common Goale, where none had layne for almost twenty yeeres, where was nothing but bare cold walls, and those with wide and ruinous clefts to let in the cold winds; and windows, having iron barres outward, and wodden barres in the midst, both to let in the wind, and to let me from putting forth my head so much as to see, or take breath in a calme: So as had not my wife been there to provide a bed, and other necessaries for my better accomodation, the beastly man had suffered me to lye and dye by the cold walls. The doore also of the roome was open below, so as when the cold North, or North-east wind did blow, it fild it both with cold and smoake, that no fire could be made in the coldest time. It was such a miserable lodging; that when after my removall from thence, some Londoners, my friends, being at *Lancaster*, desired of the Keeper, to see the roome where I lay; he would not suffer it, for very shame. Yea though the roome had a Leads over, and stayres leading to them out of the room, yet during all the time that I continued there, I could not obtaine one breathing while, or one turne on those Leads. And the room had one quality more, that I could not walk in it, for it was
floored

floored with thick planks that wereround upward, and so distant one from another, that I could not set one step, but I must look to every footing. Two poore men, whereof one was a Papist, lodged in the roome continually : I bought them two Primmers to teach them to read, but I could never get them to spend with me one quarter of an houre. One morning *Lawrence* the Papist comming up, and sitting downe, I asked him if we should begin now to learne to read ? he said, no Sir, not to day. Why *Lawrence*, said I ? For it is (quoth he) *S. Lawrence* day : I could not perswade him. My wife provided my diet, but they would not suffer her maid to bring it to the top of the staires, to my doore, that she might see it safely delivered, and see me also to carry her mistresse word that I was alive and well. Very jealous they were of conveying letters, so as when my maid brought a shirt ayred for me, they would shake it open, and so ayre it indeed after their fashion. One morning as soone as I was up, by reason of the coldnesse of the roome, I was taken with a terrible fit of the Collick, so as *Lawrence* comming up, told me I lookt like death. I went to bed againe, but nor he, nor any else must stay by me, to help me, or look to me : for in truth their intent was to take the advantage of any sicknesse, thereby to make an end of me. I was then extreme ill for two houres, even unto death. But my good Keeper was with me, and I pleaded with him, that seeing he had put me there, and that for his cause, and had deprived me of all outward helps and comforts, he stood charged with me ; so as if I miscarried, it must be under his hand, and the like. Thus I lay pleading, till at length it pleased him by a strange way to remove the malady. This was the only fit of sicknesse that I had in that prison. It was sufficient to discover their murtherous intents, and what I must trust to, if I were sick, none must come at me. And, to adde to their cruelties, there was a dark roome under mine, where they put five witches, with one of their children, which made such a hellish noise night and day, that I seemed then to be in hell, or at least in some Popish Purgatory, the Region next above hell, as the Papists tell us : so as now I was deprived of the sweetnesse of my privacy, and of the only solace of my solitary prison, when I could not either pray, or meditate, or yet sleep quietly. In the Goale I did often solace my selfe with singing of Psalmes, which (as I afterwards understood) did mightily, as on the one side comfort the better minded people, so on the other, vex the malignant or Popish party. And their malice herein appeared the more, that they had roome enough elswhere

in the Castle to bestow these witches in, who had continued a long time there. But my wife, with great and long importunity, prevailed to have them at length removed. Well, *in fine*, my two Keepers brought it out very shily, that I was to be removed further off into banishment, into an Island; but they could not, or would not tell me whither; For they were lessoned to conceale all things from me. Well, the time of my removeall approacheth: it must be some night; I must not know it till over night late. My wife having some inkling of it, prepared necessaries for my journey, and sent them before to *Leverpoole* as I directed her. On the first of November very early, being yet dark, I was brought out of the Castle, where the Sheriffe was attending with horses. So soone as I was out at the gates of the Castle, I did before them all put off my hat, and solemnly blessed God, saying, Although I know not whither I am going, but whither God will; yet I thank God, that I am out at these gates. The Keeper *Cowel*, being vexed at this, said, But you are here yet: But I blesse God (said I) that I am out at these gates. My Children were there, for whom I had over night, with much importunity, obtained, that they might see their father, and he them, before he went; but I must only salute them, scarce speak one word to them to comfort them. It was the last farewell of my deare daughter, whom I never saw after. So I parted from *Lancaster*, after I had beene there almost thirteene weeks. A prison it was, where for the extreme coldnesse of it, I could not in all likelihood have out-lived one winter. In which respect I took it as a great mercy of God, that I was so removed thence, in hope I might come to a better place, I was sure not a worse. At *Preston* we lodged that night, where no importunity could prevaile with the Sheriffe, for my wife to have one sight of me, much lesse to speak a word to me. The next day we lodged at *Leverpoole*, where on the next day after I was attended with the Sheriffe, with the Maior, and their Officers, who brought me to the water side, and there saw me safely embarked: Only by the way one favour I had, that I could see my dear wife standing aloof all alone on the sand till I came and bid her farewell, and so passed away; only I said unto her at parting, Wife, be of good comfort, God is working. At *Leverpoole*, and not before, they shewed me the Order for what place I was bound, which was the Ile and Castle of *Guernsey*. This put me in minde, and taught me the meaning of a dreame that I had in the Fleet, after the Execution. I dreamed, that I was assailed with a huge, fierce, and furious Bull, who came running full-but at me twice,

but being tied at a great Cable rope, he could not passe the length of the Cable, but there stop raging that he could not reach me. Now I found, that this dreame did portend my voyage by sea, to such a place, beyond which the Ship-cable reached not, for the Bull to have his will on me, which was to destroy me.

Another dreame, after this, I had in the Fleet, a night or two after, which was, that sundry friends being at dinner with me. I saw a Fox couching downe behinde them, and watching to snatch away their Victuals : wherupon I espying a book lying neere at hand, took it up and flapt it upon the Fox, taking him by the neck with my right hand, and holding him up aloft, and saying to the company, Loe, here is the Fox that would coulsen us all of our Victuals. The Book was just of the same volume, binding, cover, colour and bignesse, that the Archbishop of *Canterburies* Book was, entituled, *A Relation of a Conference* &c. which I did first see at *Gernsey*. And when afterwards I saw the Reply to the same Relation published in Print ; what was this, but the discovery of the subtle Fox to all the company ? But this by the way as by anticipation.

Now to returne to our Bark. When I was, by the Sheriffe, and Maier, coopt up close in my cabin, wherethey left me : about an houre after I was suffered to come forth upon the deck to take a little breath, the Bark then being a ground ; and there I could not containe my selfe, but brake out into a triumphant exultation before all the people, rejoycing that now I was, as it were, separated from the world, having forsaken my native Countrey ; and blessing God, that I had now overcome the world, bequeathing my wife and children to God, and my selfe to Heaven. Whereat all the beholders were astonished and sundry of them much strengthened by my example.

On the Lords day at night, being the fifth of *November*, lying still at anchor in the road at *Liverpoole*, the wind not yet serving, there was a most terrible tempest lay upon us, which made the Bark to crack againe, being anchor-driven upon a flat rock ; where it had like to have beaten it selfe to peeces, both in the flowing and ebbing of the water ; there being at that time, in the same broad river, another Bark wracked in our view : But it pleased God to preserve us. Yet our Bark had, with that storme, sprung a leak, which though the Carpenter did his best to mend it, yet it troubled us all our voyage, and put us to pumping every halfe houre.

The same night the storme drave away out of *Dublin* River twenty Vessels into the Channell, most of which were not heard of a month after, saving onely foure, and the rest not heard of at all, during our riding there.

The man, appointed by the High-Sheriffe of *Lancashire* Mr. Kirby, to take the charge of me to *Guernsey*, was one *Burton*, the most notorious K. in all the Shire. He would have had my wife to send me 30 or 40. pound, but got of her 6. pound (so much as she could, yet with difficulty, spare) which he undertook to deliver to me; but defrauded both her and me of it. When we came within the barre of *Dublin* River, there we lay at Anchor a whole month, all which time this *Burton* swaggered in *Dublin* with that six pound, and not once either came or sent to me so much as one Bottle of wine, or one joynt of fresh meat, to refresh me, while tumbled and tossed on those waters. But (which is yet worse) this *Burton*, with his mates, though the Barke was hired for the King, onely to transport me, yet freighted the Barke with raw Hides, which so pestered & infested us, that for my part, it had almost poysoned me with the continuall stinch, a thing most odious to my nature. But all that I could doe (which was just nothing) would not help it, I threatned *Burton*, that I would (smiling to my selfe) complain of him to the King for so abusing his prisoner, but hee cared no more for it, then if I had threatned to tell the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.

Having thus spent just 28. dayes in *Dublin* River, the wind coming about a little, we set sayle. and were in great jeopardy by the coast of *Ireland*, between the shoare and the shelves, or beds of sands that lye all along, the wind blowing hard from off the shoare, and the Barke often cracking under us, I lying all the while in the bottome of the Barke, as *Jonas* in the Whales belly, when almost all hope of safety was taken away, the Master crying to the Steers-man, and he answering, that he could doe no more. Still the Pumpe was going, but by Gods mercy we escaped. I was extremely Sea-sick both from *England* to *Ireland*, and from thence till we came almost to *Guernsey*, even nigh unto death. By the way we touched at *Milford* Haven, and last of all I tooke my farewell of *England* at the Bay of *Dartmouth*, being not permitted to take the least refreshing on Land after my embarking either at *Liverpool*; where we floated 7. dayes, or in *Ireland*, or in *England*. In seven dayes more we passed from *Ireland* to *Guernsey*, and so, after our voyage by Sea from *England* thither, which was for 42.

Int. Casar.
Comment.

dayes, or fix weekes, by Gods mercy we arrived at *Guernsey*, lodging the first night in the Towne in the Iland. The next day, being Saturday, I was conveyed over that part of the Sea, which divideth the Iland from the Castle, where I was received by the Lieutenant Mr. *Nathaniel Darrell*, a Noble Gentleman born in *Kent*, which gave me hope to find courteous usage, remembring the praise that *Casar* of old gave to the people of *Kent*, that they were the most civill and courteous people of all *Britaine*. And truly so I found him: For although my first lodging in the Castle was in a low Chamber, the window whereof was on the out-side compassed in round with boards, a yard distant from the window, only to let in Light, so as I might not looke out to see either Earth or Sea, but onely up to heaven-ward (like to a pinned Pigeon, to make sport for the Faulkoner) and many times I was so scanted for ayre, as I was glad to stand upon a forme to suck in a little breath thorow a broken pane in the top of the window: Yet I assure my selfe it should not have been so, if either the Lieutenant, or the Governours of the Castle could have helped it. I merrily told the Gentleman porter of the Castle, my Country-man, one morning walking a turn or two with me in the room, pointing to the Boards before the window, saying, You deal with me here, as they do in our Country with a mad Bull, when they put a board before his face.

I continued in this roome 16. weekes, not once going forth into the open ayre. And yet (see the goodnesse of my heavenly Keeper) I was not once sick in that roome, to keep my bed one day; no nor was I ever more cheerfull in all my life, then in that very prison, as where I could every day dance my sinke apace, either when I was cold, or wanted breathing, or for exercise. So as the close prison was to me as a most princely Palace, or Paradise of pleasure; and such as the old Serpent could not so easily cheat me of the happinesse of, as he did our first Parents of that earthly Paradise. For in all my straits, still as I reflected upon the cause for which I suffered all these things, my heart leaped for joy, and could not contain my selfe, but that my body also sprang and jumped in my chamber, even with the like spirit of alacrity, (I dare say) as *David* danced before the Arke. And all this while from my first entrance into my suffering, and all along to the very last, in all my imprisonment, in all my banishment, in my separation from my loving and beloved wife, and children, and friends, this separation having no other bounds (in the boundlesse tyrannicall Censure) then perpetuity it selfe: yet I was so far from accounting all this suffering as

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any the least affliction to me at all, as that I held and valued, and enjoyed it as my chiefe joy, my glory, and my Crown, and the greatest happiness that ever God vouchsafed unto me in all my life; and thus it continued without any intermission, or interruption untill God was pleased to release me from my bonds. And one thing I may not omit, how gently carefull and respective Mr. Lieutenant was of me all the time of my being prisoner in the Castle, to provide good and wholesome dyet for me, the best that the Land and Sea afforded, which hee sent me warme from his own Table.

Well, after 16. weeks I was preferred to a better lodging, where I might looke out at my window over the Sea Eastward. I accounted this a very high degree of preferment. Whence also, after one halfe yeere more, by the comming, and favour of the honourable Governour of the Castle and Ilands of *Guernsey*, I was advanced to the next Chamber above it, which was the highest Chamber in the Castle, and had one window Southward, and another Eastward, yeelding me a faire prospect to the Sea from South to North, which was a great recreation to me. Yea, God made every thing a Recreation; the making of mine owne Bed, and the sweeping of my Chamber, was as an exercise of my body, so a recreation of my minde. For though it might seeme a strange alteration, from having been a publicke * sweeper of Soules, to become now a poore sweeper of my prison; yet the consideration for what, and whom I had undergone ^{Act. 19.} such a suffering condition, I rejoyced in this service, and was ready to ^{35. new} become yet more vile for his sake, who humbled himselfe to become a ^{xxviii.} servant for me, and who had honoured me with so high an office of a sufferer for his Sake.

Being thus sweetly accommodated for lodging, quiet from all noises, and having gotten about me my Bibles in Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, French, &c. As also the Ecclesiasticall History in Greeke, I made these my daily exercise; It was my daily recreation to take my English Testament, and without the Greeke, to read the English into Greeke, which I did with the like facility, as to read English; and when I did compare my Greeke with the Greeke Testament, to see wherein I differed in any word, putting one *συνώνυμον* for another, and the like. In which, and other conveniences, which that lodging afforded for study and privacy, I began now to see more clearly then before the speciall providence of God, in bringing me out of *Lancaster* Gaole to that Castle: For had I continued in *Lancaster* Castle (besides

the hardship of lodging, cold, and other usage) I could never have enjoyed that opportunity of study, which I had at *Gerusey*; there being at *Lancaster* one Dr. *Wildbore* who had alwayes a malignant aspect, and watchfull eye over me; I could not have a booke, but by his permission, he being one of the Prelates Priests and Creatures, a double Beneficed man, and an heire apparent to a Bishopricke, which he hoped to merit by his good service, in keeping a strict watch over me. But (blessed be God) at *Guernsey* Castle, though none could be more carefull then Mr. Lieutenant in observing the Court-Orders to keep me from the use of pen, ink, and paper, even for my private studies, though I earnestly desired him, promising him, if I might enjoy that favour, I would write nothing that might procure him any displeasure or trouble: And surely had he upon my promise granted my suite, I had been true to him: But my heavenly Keeper provided otherwise for me what I desired. For through his good providence I had an art to make inke, and for pennes I had goose wings, which were to sweep the dust off my windowes, and so: paper, a private friend in *Guernsey* towne supplied me, for all the strict watch and ward that was kept about me by my keeper: in the use of all these I was so wary, that while any was comming up the staires, I had time to convey all away, that never any of my keepers could see either pen, ink, or paper, in my chamber. By this meanes, through Gods mercifull assistance, I writ the Reply to the Relation, which being finished, I sent away for *England* by the foresaid private friend. After this, upon a second revissall, I writ a Supply to the Reply; but this was never printed: I writ also an answer to Dr. *Halls* Episcopacy by divine right: But neither was this printed. For the reply did very hardly escape the Bishops beagles, hunting it up and downe, while it was a printing; but the same providence which preserved and produced that for God and the King, preserved this also and brought it forth to light. I writ also sundry other things, some of which came to light, and some miscarried. The writings flowed from me with such an affluence and facility, that they were no labour to me, but a recreation: and neither did my writing abate my reading, nor my reading hinder my writing: For both I read so much every day (being up early and late) as if I had writ nothing: and I writ so much as if I had done nothing else. Now concerning the Reply; therein was verified the dream I spake of, which I had in the Fleet, concerning the Fox: The fox proved to be the Archbishop of Canterbury: The Booke that was slapt upon the lurking fox, which was iust of the same

volume, bynding, cover, colour, bignesse with the Relation, was Canturburies Relation itselfe retorted upon him; the right hand that held up the fox by the neck, to shew his fox-like fraud to all the company, was the right hand which writ the Reply to that foxes Relation, whereby through his cunning sophistry, and notorious hypocrisie he thought to have gulled all *England* of the Gospell; and set up the Romish Masse in stead thereof, as the Reply hath plainly discovered. Thus both my foresaid dreams in my Fleet-prison were made up in *Guernsey* Castle prison, where the strong cables end of Gods providence stayed the fury of that Beast or Bull from pushing at me, so as he could not, for all his Bull-like power, and fox-like craft and policy, hinder that worke, whereby the fox was uncased: which title I had given to the Reply, calling it, The uncasing of the fox; but that I thought a more moderate title would better suit with the fury of those times, in case any sparke of common reason had been left for right reason to worke upon.

Againe, although, when first I heard of an Order from the Lords to take my wife prisoner, in case she should come to *Guernsey* Iland to enquire after her husband, whether he were alive or dead, I thought it hard: Yet after it pleased God to enable and imploy me in those services aforesaid, I saw another cleare evidence of divine providence in keeping my wife from me for a time, that so her society might not be any impeachment or impediment (at that time) to my employments there. Thus the Lord turned all these things to co-operate for good.

In this interim, I heard of the good pleasure of God, in taking away my deare and only daughter. It was a little before supper that Mr *Lieutenant* began darkly to intimate the same unto me, untill I prayed him to deale plainly with me, which he then did: whereupon craving pardon, I immediately retired to my lodging, and there on my knees gave the Lord solempne thanks, that it had pleased him to translate my daughter, now his alone, into his Kingdome of glory, after he had fitted her to be a Virgin Spouse for her husband Jesus Christ. For a holy and sweet conditioned Maid she was ever from her childhood, being now growne marriageable, and now for ever married unto Jesus Christ. This was she that said (as afore) *It must be so, it must be so.* Now the reason, why I thus gave thanks to God upon this newes of the death of my daughter, was my assurance that she was now in heaven: so as I did not shed a teare for her death, no more then I did

Siccis o-
culis ad
Christi
vexillum
evol. Hier.

at my parting with her and her brother at *Lancaster* Castle, or with my wife at *Leverpoole* sands; as not daring in publike to blemish the cause of my suffering with one teare for any worldly losse: Although otherwise I wanted not expressions, of both loyall affections to my wife, and naturall bowels to my children.

A strange
and mira-
culous
Rainbow.

On *April* 25. 1640. I set the day apart to seek God, especially for his Church, which then lay under great pressures; wherein having spent the day till foure of the clock in the afternoone, I walked two or three turnes in my Chamber, and being very sad, and disconsolate because I had not, as at other times upon the like occasion, received an answer of comfort from God, and being somewhat faint with abstinence and closenesse of the roome, I opened that window which looks into the sea eastward, to take a little ayre, the sea comming as neere the shore on that side, as that I might from my window throw an apple into it: thus looking forth, by and by there was presented before the window a Rainbow, lying flat all along upon the sea, with the two ends close to the shore, and the bow from me ward: it was a perfect and entire Rainbow; but because it did not, as ordinary Rain-bowes, stand upright, but lay flat upon the sea, it filled me with wonderment; and so much the more, because looking both upwards and downwards, I saw no cloud for the Rainbow to subsist in, neither was the ayre moist, it being a dry windy day. I observed indeed (putting my head forth at the window, and looking upwards) many broken little clouds driven away with the wind, but never a one large enough for such a Rainbow; and the clouds moved apace, and passed away, but the Rainbow abode still for the space of half a quarter of an houre, keeping its posture, lying flat and steddily upon the sea; whereby it plainly appeared to be no naturall and ordinary Rainbow, but super-naturall and miraculous. Mine eyes were taken up with beholding and my minde with admiring it, till at length whole, as it was at first it began to withdraw it selfe whole as it was towards the North-east towards *England*: I saw it move thus for the space of two leagues, lying flat upon the sea, till it vanished out of my sight. Hereupon I began to be amused in my selfe, what this should meane: I was perswaded, that God had sent this Rainbow to me for some speciall use that I should make of it: But I knew not, nor could imagine what I prayed againe, that the Lord would be pleased to shew me what use to make of it. I hereupon cast my thoughts upon the first Rainbow in *Genesis*; but that was set in the cloud, and for a signe of Gods Com-

Gen. 9. 12.
13.

venant

venant, that he would no more destroy the world by a flood of waters. But what is this Rainbow to that? This is without a cloud, and lies flat upon the sea. Well, this interpretation I made of it: That forasmuch as I had earnestly sought God for his Church that day, and had not received an answer of comfort, and being sad, God thereupon (without any my seeking of a signe) presented before me a miraculous Rainbow; I took it to be sent of God, as an answer to my prayers that day, and to be a signe to assure me, that he would certainly and miraculously deliver his Church, which now lay floating upon the seas of affliction, ready to be swallowed up. Upon this interpretation I was so satisfied, and filled with present comfort, being fully perswaded of the truth thereof, that I was never sad after upon any such occasion: and when at any time since I have beene disconsolate for the Church, I have presently reflected mine eyes upon my Rainbow, and have therewith beene comforted afresh, and my heart remaines fully established against all doubts and feares. I say, my Rainbow, as having the sole propriety in it, seeing it was seene of none but my selfe alone. And how miraculously hath God wrought for us, by many deliverances since that time hitherto? Soone after a Parliament was miraculously procured: and soone after againe it was by Gods wonderfull Providence miraculously broken up, in the very nick of an imminent danger, as all doe know; so as the dissolution of the Parliament, in the prevention thereof, proved to be as the ashes of the Phenix, whereof is begotten another Phenix; the dissolution of that producing the generation of this (hitherto in many things) happy Parliament, which we have now so long enjoyed, and which God hath so miraculously preserved from so many desperate Cut-throats, when they came armed, both with power, and bloody resolution, to make a massacre of that sacred Senate; and when the Northerne Army was designed for the like execution. And should we runne over, and well weigh, and number the severall deliverances that God hath given, both in this Kingdome, and in that of *Scotland*, from so many treacheries, treasons, and rebellions, from the first till this present, both by sea and Land (taking in the late Spanish Fleet, and Armado for not the least, so miraculously defeated) we shall finde and acknowledge them so many miracles, or miraculous deliverances; and so much the more, when we consider on the one side the overtopping power, and undermining plots of the most cruell and trecherous sworne enemies, and home-bred vipers, and degenerate monsters, that ever hell hatchr,

or *Rome* brought forth, machinating the utter ruine of both Parliamēt and People, Religion and Rights, Lawes and Liberties, City and Countrey: and on the other side, the weaknesse both of Parliamēt and People, to defend themselves, and the State from imminent ruine, when in our greatest dangers there were such divisions in both Houses; so as for a long time, especially before the Prelates, (those incendiaries, and make-bates,) were cast out of the House of Lords, matters of maine consequence, tending to reformation, and preservation of the Kingdome, could not passe currant, no place could be found for the punishing of Delinquents, and the like; their impunity proving a kinde of immunity to advance their Crest to such a heighth of insolency, as it is now growne intolerable, if not incurable. Yet notwithstanding all this, see how miraculously the Lord worketh for us: For hath hee not caused all the machinations of that miscreant and malignant party, to make against themselves, and for us? What got the Prelates by their bold Remonstrance against all the Proceedings of this Parliamēt, as meere nullities? Were they not thereupon cast out, as nullities in Parliamēt, and by this occasion each House better united in it selfe, and both Houses better accorded, and more firmly combined together? What have they gained by attempting of *Hull* by soliciting, (by flattery or force,) simple and credulous poore soules by gathering Forces against the Parliamēt, and the loyall Subjects of the Kingdome, but thereby to discover to the world, what truth there is in all their Protestations, and faire false pretences to the contrary: so that the trecherous intentions, and bloody projects, and beastly practises of that selfe-damning Crew, might be found the most worthy every day to be hated and abhorred both of God and men. So as it is apparent, that our God hath given up our enemies to be selfe blinded, their hearts being hardened to their confusion: That in all their disasters, and our deliverances all along, we might sing with *Moses*; *Who among the Gods is like unto thee, O Lord! Who is like thee, glorious in holinesse, fearfull in praises, doing wonders.*

Exod. 15.

11.

Thus hitherto we have seen the many miraculous things, which as well so many miraculous deliverances of the Church, and so many steps at ha degrees unto a greater and a more miraculous deliverance, yet to come, all which have in part answered to the interpretation of the miraculous Rainbow above mentioned. I say, in part, because the great miraculous deliverance is yet to come. And there is no surer signe of this great miraculous deliverance of Gods Church, then the fury and rancour

of Satan, and Antichrist, with all their confederate faction, making open warre against the Kingdome and Gospel of Christ.

And now is this warre begun professedly in *Ireland* by the Rebels there, (who have their Authors, Factors, and Abettors both in *Rome* and *England*) for the rooting out of all Protestants, and the Protestant Religion; which warre they intended to perfect in *England* and *Scotland*. So as this outrageous warre in the Rebellion of *Ireland*, and in the raising of Popish forces in *England* against the true Protestants, under the infamous name of *Round-heads*, which warre is fomented by all Papists and popishly affected within the Land, and without; among whom our Prelates with their Priests are not the least incendiaries, and bellows-blowers, seducing also their blind-folded Ignorants, to make a party with them, to destroy themselves and families, together with their native countrey, and all the honour of it: This warre (I say) so furiously and universally by them prosecuted, is a most certain immediate fore-running sign of the imminent ruine of the whole Kingdome of the Beast, which is spiritually called *Egypt*; even as the power of the Kingdome of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh* and his Host, pursuing *Israel* to the red Sea, with resolution utterly to destroy the Lords people, was that which led them to their owne dismall destruction in that Sea: For the enemy had said, *I will pursue, I will overtake them, I will divide the spoile, my lust shall be satisfied upon them, I will draw my Sword, my hand shall destroy them.* The very language of our Antichristian enemies at this time; the Cavaleers at *Torke* divided among themselves, the streets, houses, and spoiles of *London*, they threaten the utter extirpation of all *Round-heads* (as they call them) to wit, all Protestants, even all such, as cannot away with Popery; Therefore certainly the ruine of this cursed faction is neere at hand, which shall be with a fearefull destruction, forasmuch as they make open warre against the Lord and his anointed people: So as that which is prophesied of those Kings & Rulers, in the second Psalm, who with their heathenish rage, and tumultuous troops warre against the Gospel, the bands and cords whereof they indeavour to burst in sunder, & to cast away from them, shall now to be verified of them; the Lord that sitteth in Heaven, shall laugh at their proud and vaine attempts, and with his iron Rod shall smite them in pieces like a Potters Vessell. And even as *Pharaoh* with his Egyptians would not be warned, nor humbled with those 10. terrible plagues, which the Lord sent upon *Egypt* one after another, but their hatred against *Israel* still continued, till at last the Lord utterly

Isa. 25. 11.

Revel. 11.

See my
book, en-
titled,The found-
ing of the
sixt Trump-
pet.

Rev. 16. 16.

Revel. 2

7, 8.

Rev. 17. 14.

Rev. 20. 9.

rooted them out; so seeing none of all these defeats, which the Lord hath sent upon the desperate designs of our new Egyptians one after another, disappointing them, and delivering us, will reclaim them, or appease their fury, but after all, they doe still seek to extirpate the people of God, and all true Religion: The like destruction must needs overtake them, that overtooke the old Egyptians. As the Prophet saith, *O Lord, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see, but they shall see and be confounded for their envy towards thy people; yea, the fire of thine enemies shall devour them.* And this is the time, foretold of old, the time of the sixth Trumpet, sounding forth woe against the Beast, for slaying the two Witnesses, after whose reviving againe, there follows a great earthquake, after which followeth the destruction of the Beasts Kingdome under the sounding of the seventh Trumpet, when *the Kingdomes of this world are become the Kingdomes of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reigne for ever and ever.* And this is the time wherein the battell of God Almighty is fought in *Harmageddon*, under the pouring out of the Plagues of the sixth Viall upon the Beast. Now is *Michael and his Angels* fighting against the *Dragon and his Angels*; Now is the *Lambe* and his party (the called, and chosen, and faithfull) fighting with the Beast and his party. Now is the *Holy City* begirt with the Forces of *Gog and Magog*, open, and secret enemies, whom fire from heaven consumeth, even the zeale of God, and of his people. And the Deliverance of the Church shall be the more miraculous, because it is wrought by the mighty hand of God, through many troubles and difficulties, which Gods people must passe through, as through a sea, before they arrive on their wished shore. And this I apprehend to be signified by the manner of the going away of the forementioned miraculous Rainbow, which manner was no lesse miraculous, then the Rainbow it selfe. For it went away, and so vanished at length, not as other Rainbowes, by peece-meale, as the cloud wherein it subsisteth doth waste away; but it passed away whole and entire, all along upon the sea as farre as I could see, and towards *England* it went: as if Gods Church in *England* especially should have a miraculous deliverance through a sea of troubles. And the expectation hereof yeelds me no small supportation in the midst of these tumultuous times, and dubious events, assuring my selfe, that he which gave the Rainbow such a subsistence without any cloud, will also performe and accomplish the thing, whereof it was sent to be a signe, even the glorious deliverance of his Church, how unlikely or defective soever the meanes be.

Yea shall I add one circumstance more? When the same day at night I went to write this downe in mine Almanack for remembrance, I found that this day was the very day of the month wherein I was married, which I had not observed before to be that day. Hereupon I began to apprehend, that surely this was a signe, as of the Churches deliverance, so of mine also therein. For mine own particular deliverance I made no account of, unlesse I might enjoy it as a part of the Generall Deliverance of Gods people, as I professed to many at my returne home, when I began to enjoy my deliverance as a part of the publike, which I made as sure a reckoning of, as if then already fully accomplished.

But at length, to winde up so much of the thread of my life, which was spun out in that my cloffe imprisonment and banishment, let me acquaint the Reader with those speciall cordials, which were to me more sweet then my daily food. I had ever been from my youth up much acquainted with *Dauids* Psalmes, in my private devotions, as wherein I ever found greatest sweetnesse and solace to my poore soule; which as they afforded more matter of comfort to me, as my life had been all along much exercised with affliction: so most of all in my prison and exile. And although the Psalmes have all of them their severall excellencies, yet among the rest I had, from my very youth made choice of one; Psalm especially, as which I was extraordinarily affected with, in that I could both most clearly read the generall estate of my life past, and present; as also both feelingly pray for, and confidently wait for, those promises and comforts which were therein presented to the eye of my faith, and which afterwards I began in my latter sufferings, in a great measure, to enjoy, which after my returne from exile seemed to have a more full accomplishment. As for the purpose (to omitt many other passages of the Psalmes, which I leave to the readers judgement, and consideration, how farre forth they are remarkably applyable to the severall conditions of my life, if well weighed) not only in my last and greatest sufferings, I found answers of God to all those prayers in that Psalm, which I had often prayed, in supporting me, and being my strong refuge (v. 7.) even then, when I was (as on the pillary) a wonder unto many; when also (v. 8.) my mouth was filled with his praise, and honour all the day; when in the time of old age (v. 9.) I was cast off, and even out of the world in a manner, so as the enemies said, God hath forsaken him; persecute him, and take him, for there is none to deliver him (v. 1.) yet the Lord did not cast

me off; he forsooke me not. And (v. 20.) how was that fulfilled at my returne, *Thou which hast shewed me great and sore troubles, thou shalt quicken me again, and shalt bring me up againe from the depths of the earth?* And (v. 21.) how began God now to increase my greatness, and comfort me on every side? And after this (of which more anon) I found that also verified (v. 18.) *Now also when I am old and gray-headed, O God, forsake me not, untill I have shewed thy strength unto this generation, and thy power to every one that is to come;* which here is done in part, in this support of Gods strength and power, in carrying me, a weake man, through so many and great troubles to his eternall praise and glory.

And besides all this, what mighty confusions have I since seen upon those enemies, against whom the Psalmist prayeth, v. 13.? Not to mention more (all being so notoriously knowne) let me tell you one passage. I being with some friends walking in the Tower, where we were invited to see the Artillery, one came and told me, that the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury (my grand adversary) as he was going along to the Chappell to doe his devotions, was met by one, who told him that I was hard by in the Tower: whereupon the Prelate presently returned, hastning to his lodging, least (it seemes) I should meet with him; who now not brooking to see my face, and eares defaced: how shall he look Iesus Christ in the face, whom he hath pierced; when he shall come to Iudgement, in flaming fire, rendring vengeance to all miscreants?

This in brieft of this Psalm, wherein it hath pleased God to give me such an interest through Christ, in whom all those sweet promises have so full an accomplishment.

In a word, infinite were the supports and comforts which I received by the Psalmes. As Psal. 40. wherein it is spoken of Christ, and of David (v. 10) *I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart, I have declared thy faithfullnesse, and thy salvation; I have not concealed thy loving kindnesse, and thy truth from the great congregation:* this, I could in the integrity of my conscience (being not privy of baulking any truth in my ministry, which was forbidden by the Prelates) so farre apply to my selfe, as that I could with the greater confidence take up the words immediately following (v. 11.) *Withhold not thou thy tender mercies from me, O Lord: let thy loving kindnesse, and thy truth continually preserve me.* &c. As I remember, how a little before my last troubles, Mr. Walker, my reverend and learned brother, being con-

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vented, and admonished by Dr. *Lambe* to preach no more of the *Sabbath*, and he being thereupon *δύγω*, half perswaded to it: I told him, *Brother Walker*, if you yeild herein, be assured they will some time or other get you in their snare; and when they have you in prison, what comfort will you find, when your conscience shall check you, that for feare of man, you forbear freely and fully to declare the truth of God; and most of all then, when it was most opposed and oppressed? And not long after my going into banishment, they caught him indeed, and put him in prison; where I doubt not but he found comfort from God, according to my words, which he had upon that occasion followed.

Againe, I was mightily supported by those words, *Psal. 66. 10. 117. 12.* For thou O God, hast proved us, thou hast tryed us, as silver is tried: Thou broughtest us into the net, Thou laidst affliction upon our loines: Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water: but Thou broughtest us out, into a wealthy place. Which words afforded me two great props to support me: The one, that God was the sole author of all those my troubles, as wherein no miscarriage of mine had given any the least just offence to those men, who forcibly drove me (yet witting, and willing) into their net, where they rode upon my head. The other was, that as I saw the Lords hand leading me through the fire, as on the pillary, where the sun did extremely beat upon my head, and through the water, passing through the seas (as aforesaid) so I did verily assure my selfe, that the same hand would deliver, and bring me into a wealthy place. According also to that promise, *Isa. 43. 2.* Yea when in my close prison and exile, I was as an owle in the desert, or as a sparrow that sits alone upon the house top, yea as one free among the dead. (*Psal. 88. 5.*) like the slaine that lye in the grave: yet this was my comfort, that I could say, *Thou O Lord hast layd me in the lowest pit, in darknesse in the deeps; (v. 6.) lower and friend hast thou put from me, and mine acquaintance into darknesse.* All contented me well, because the Lord had done all these things to me; and that, not in his wrath, and displeasure against me, as *D. vid.* there complaineth; but in his loving kindnesse and favour, in his free grace calling, and enabling me to suffer soe great things, for his name sake. In a word, I did now and then in my prison, exercise my selfe with preaching to my selfe upon some text of Scripture, both for my present strengthening, and comfort; and also to keep me from rust, in case it might please God to call me forth to preach againe in the great congregation.

Greek.
ἐπιβίβα-
σαι &c.
Thou hast
set riders
upon our
heads.

ἡμῶν γὰρ
ἐξαπλῶν
τὸ ἰσχύ
ἡμῶν &c.
Phil. 1. 29.

Hereunto (if it be not tedious to the Reader) I might adde a briefe narration of many other helps and supports, which I found throughout all my sufferings, as also throughout the whole course of my life: As first Prayer; This never failed me at any time, and in greatest distresse it had most speedy and speeding answers. What blessings hath it obtained for me? What victories over strong and masterfull corruptions, lusts, temptations, snares? How often thereby Satan foiled, and sinne prevented? How my spirits supported in all my sufferings? I could here tell of many wonderfull returnes of prayer in the many passages of my life, and particularly concerning Gods Providence in disposing of me in marriage, wherein his goodnesse marvelously appeared, partly by preventing some, and chiefly by providing successively two fit matches for me, who proved notable helps to me, both in my ministry, and in my sufferings, being both of them lovers, and valiant for the truth. And the second, yet surviving, can relate how miraculously Prayer brought us first together. O the excellent use of Prayer to all the purposes of this life, whether spirituall or temporall! It is the most effectuall solicitor of all our causes, having such an Advocate at Gods right hand.

My second help in my sufferings was the testimony of my conscience; which stood in these particulars. First, A sure believe that all my sins were forgiven, and washed away in the blood of Iesus Christ. Secondly, An infallible knowledge, that the cause for which I thus suffered, was a most noble, holy, righteous, and innocent cause, as being the cause of Christ, of his Gospel, of his Church, yea and of the whole Land, my native Countrey; which cause I was (not only as a Christian, but much more, as a professed witnesse of Christ) bound to maintaine, even to the losse of all things in the world. Thirdly, the testimony of my conscience sealed by my record from on high, that my continuall opposition in the course of my ministry, both by preaching and writing against the adversaries of the truth, was out of no other respect (as either of an humour of contradiction, or ambition, or vaine glory, or affectation of singularity, or of malice to any mans person, or out of any discontentednesse with my present condition, as some have fasly and causlessly slandered me, the Lord having beene so farre good unto me, as to set me farre above all such base lusts (though I wanted not my corruptions) not to prevaile over me) but meerely out of the conscience of my duty, in zeale to Gods glory, and love to his truth, and service to Christ, and to his Church. There

are sundry Ministers yet living in *London*, who can witnesse, that I was not ambitious to shew my self alone in the cause, when my frequent solicitations of them could not prevaile to have more fellowes to share with me. And fourthly, (not to recount more particulars) in that God hath given me these three comforts more. First, that before my last Censure (as aforesaid) I owed not a penny to any man, it having ever beene hatefull unto me to owe any thing to any man, but love; which love I am daily paying, while daily praying for all. Secondly, that in this respect I can say with the Apostle, *I am free from the blood of all men, having kept nothing back that I knew necessary and profitable, but delivered* (though in great weaknesse) *the whole Counsell of God*, even against all opposition of men in their expresse edicts, armed with terrors and threatnings to the contrary. Thirdly, although from my youth up I have not beene free from many humane frailties and follies, lusts and vanities, baits and temptations without, and corruptions within, ready to betray me; yet herein my conscience doth greatly comfort me, in this mercy of God I exceedingly glory, that his Grace still prevented me, and preserved me in my integrity; that he might set me before his face for ever, even in the rank of those, of whom it is said, *These are they that were not defiled with women*. Thus have I shewed some speciall grounds of such comforts, as I enjoyed in my prison and exile: These were my sweet Associates, and Vade-mecums in that my solitary secluse: these the cordials and preservatives (from and under my God) of my life and health.

Acts 20. 28
26, 27.

Ps. 14. 2.

Rev. 14. 4.

Nay, shall I adde yet one more. For this one comfort comes in the reare, though late first; yet at last, That all this my suffering was mainly from the malice and instigation of the Prelates (to say nothing of Papall leagues) who oppugned me with two powerfull Armies, the High-Commission, and the Starre-Chamber, and all for this cause (cause enough) that I testified the truth against their Prelaticall oppositions, and tyrannicall usurpations: so as their shutting me out from among them, their depriving and degrading me of my Ministry, I now accounted my greatest honour and priviledge, as being now freed from such an Antichristian yoke. As I told the Warden of the Fleet, as he carried me from my Degradation in *Pauls*, that now I thanked God I had cast off the Bishops Livery, and found my shoulders much the lighter by it.

Now to summe up all my sufferings, that only God may have the glory; herein let me deprecate the Censure of arrogance, if I make the

Great Apostl^e, next after my Lord J^hus Christ, my patterne to follow, though at a vast distance The Apostle having recited his many & great sufferings, as so many priviledges, wherein he had out-stripped the false Apostles, 2 Cor. 11. saying (v. 23.) *Are they the Ministers of Christ? I speak as a foole, I am more: in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in death oft, &c.* he concludes, ver. 30. *If I must needs glory, I will glory of the things which concerne mine infirmities.* And chap. 12. 9. *Most gladly will I rather glory in mine infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me; Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christs sake; for when I am weak, then am I strong:* so the Apostle. And who shall deny me (though but a dwarfe to such an Apostle) the like liberty to glory therather in my *infirmities*, that the power of Christ may rest upon me, and be the more glorified in me? seeing Christs power is most seene in greatest weaknesse, yea his strength thereby made perfect. And Mat. 21. 16. *Out of the mouthes of Babes and Sucklings thou hast perfected praise.*

2 Cor. 12. 9
Mat. 21. 16

But what are my sufferings to those of the Apostle? surely whatever proportion they may hold, or if any at all, let not envy grudge us the ballance of the Sanctuary to weigh them in; if by this means Christs power shall appeare the greater, in equally supporting one so unequall to his Apostle in gifts, and graces; and yet in sufferings not altogether so unequall. Shall we be bold to take a parallel view of them? Pardon me good Reader.

A paralell
betweene
Pauls suffer-
ings, and
the Au-
thors.

First, the sole cause of all *Pauls* sufferings, was his witness-bearing to the truth of the Gospel, and for none other cause were all my sufferings. Secondly, *Paul* was in prisons more frequent: so have I been; yea confined to perpetuall close imprisonment. Thirdly *Paul* suffered stripes above measure: and I have suffered losse of very much blood on the pillary, equivalent to many stripes. Fourthly, *Paul* suffered thrice shipwrack: and I suffered the losse of all at once, with imminent danger of shipwrack two severall times. Fifthly, *Paul* was in perills by sea: so was I in my tedious voyage by sea in a stormy winter season, and through perillous seas between *Lancashire* and *Guernsey*, for six weeks space, sundry times very neete perishing in the *Irish* seas. Sixthly, *Paul* was in perills among false brethren: so was I, never free from perills of false brethren, or false Christians, who used to watch me in my Church to catch something from my mouth, to carry to the Prelates, and so bring me into the lions pawes. Seventh-

ly, *Paul* was in perills of his own countrymen, the Jewes, who sundry times way-layd him, to kill him: so have I been sundry times in perills of the Jesuites, my countrymen, who in the City apparantly two severall times, layd their ambush to take away my life; also of false ministers, pretended friends, who privately brought me into the Prelates mercy, for preaching against bowing at the name Jesus, for which I was suspended, as afore. Eighthly, *Paul* suffered hunger and thirst, cold and nakednesse: so had I nothing left me of mine own, to preserve me from hunger and thirst, from cold and nakednesse; lying under the formidable fine of 5000 l^s payable to the King, had it either been extended, or I able to have paid the tenth part of it. And with meer cold had I perished in *Lancashire* Goale, had not God in his providence translated me thence: and with hunger had I perished in *Guernsey* Castle, had I not been fed by the Governors allowance, from Mr. Lieutenants table; for the which no recompence could be obtained from those, by whose authority I was there committed close prisoner, where I could not help my selfe. Ninthly, Againe, *Paul* was rescued from the hands of the cruell Jewes, High Priests, and Pharises, by his appealing to *Cesar*, a heathen Emperour, who protected him from their violence: but I, by appealing from the cruell Prelates, was not rescued from their bloody hands. Tenthly, *Paul*, when the Jewes laid wait for him, without the gates of *Damascus*, to kill him, was in a basket let downe over the wall, and so esaped: but I being in mine own house beset with bills, and swords, and threatened with a Prelates mace, had my house violently broken up, and my person carryed away to prison, although I might have the same time escaped their hands. Eleventhly, *Paul* was persecuted by the Jewes, who were professed enemies of Christ: but I by those, who professe to be Christians, yea Protestants, and to be for Christ, yea to be for the very Church of Christ. Now a professed enemy is lesse dangerous, then a professed, but false, friend. Twelfthly, *Paul* (if the story be true) suffered death, by being beheaded, with the sword, under *Nero* at *Rome*: And I suffered that on the pilary in *England*, my native Country, which was more painefull, and no lesse, if not more disgracefull, then such a death. For my head hung two full hours on the pilary, as if it had been separate from my body; and there were my two eares disgracefully and butcherly cut off with the hangmans knife, whereby my blood was abundantly shed, even to the expiring of the soule; all which was, both for the present, and afterwards in the time of healing, much

more painfull, then the chopping off of the head with one stroke. Thirtenthly As God indued *Paul* with an excellent spirit to under- goe and overcome all his afflictions with a singular alacrity and con- stancy, so as he sung : salmes in the prison, and accounted his life, and all outward things, but as dung, in comparison of Christ : so the same God poured into my soule abundantly the like spirit, of fortitude and magnanimity, not only cheerfully and constantly, but even trium- phantly, to be more then conqueror in all my sufferings; as also the Apostle said of himselfe, 2. Cor. 2. 14. and Rom. 8. 37.

Acts 24. 23
& 28. 30. 31

Besides all this, First, *Paul* was never haunted, hunted, and vexed by Pursuivants, as I have been. Secondly, *Paul* was never bound in bonds of two or three hundred pounds to answer the High Priests in their synedrion, as I have been in the high Commission Court. Thirdly, *Paul*, when he was a prisoner, and that under *Nero*; yet had liberty to visit his friends and acquaintance; and they to come and visit him: but I was shut up in a close prison, where neither my selfe could visit others, nor they me. Fourthly, *Paul* had his fellow prisoners with him to be mutuall comforters: but I was shut up all alone, without a fellow, or compainon. Fifthly, *Paul* was never fined in more then he was worth: but I was. Sixthly, *Paul* was never doomed to more punishments then one, at once: but I to many, and those most grive- ous punishments; and that contrary to the law of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Ezra. 7. 26. Seventhly, *Paul* was not condemned before the hearing of his cause, nor himselfe condemned, for refusing to as- sent to the condemning of his own cause before hearing: but both I and my cause werethus condemned, contrary to the law of the land, and of all nations. Eighthly, It was lawfull for *Paul* to have carried about with him a sister a wife, if he had had one: but I having an honest, godly, most loving, and tender hearted woman to my wife, was not suffered to have her with me according to Gods Ordinance, for our mutuall comfort and support, in our great affliction; but wee were violently separated one from the other, without any the least colour of cause. Ninthly, *Paul* was suffered to write to his friends, and to those his children, whom he had begotten by the Gospel, and to those Churches, which he had planted: but I was not permitted the use of pen, inke, and paper, so much as to write to my friends, or to my dis- console wife, or my poore orphan-children, whom God had given to me in lawfull wedlock. Tenthly, *Paul* never was banished from his native country: but I was, and that extrajudicially, sent into perpetu-
all

all banishment. Elevenchly, *Paul*, though a prisoner, yet was not forbid to preach; but exercised his ministry in the prison; to all that came unto him: but my mouth was by Decree for ever stopped; which one affliction was to me, as in it selfe, so heavy, as is sufficient to counter-balance all *Pauls* afflictions. Twelfthly, Nor did *Paul* live to know experimentally those sufferings, which Antichrist (foretold of by him) should both craftily invent, and cruelly inflict upon Gods servants, in these last times; which my selfe have now lived both to see, and suffer. Antichrist was then but a cockatrice in the egge: but now he is broke out, and grown to be a great red dragon. Thirteenthly, *Paul* once by pleading the priviledge of a Roman, escaped the whip: but I, though once by pleading the benefit of a subject, I obtained (which yet cost me ten pounds) a Prohibition, whereby I was delivered from a double lash of the High Commission: yet the next day after as aforesaid) I fell under the Prelates lash; who suspended me from my ministry, for preaching the truth; for the which truths sake I have also suffered all these things. Finally, Fourteenthly, *Pauls* Judges would not condemne him, for the bare accusation of his adversaries, saying, *It was not the manner of the Romans to condemne any man, before that he which is accused, have the accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himselfe concerning the crime layed against him:* but I, though I had permission by the Court to make my defence in writing, and at the censure to speake for my selfe, yet all was as nothing, but without either accusers, or witnesses (saving only a counterfet information in Court, charging many things, but proving nothing, but serving only for a snare, which innocency it selfe could not escape) I underwent the most terrible Censure that ever was inflicted in the world. But though I underwent it, yet through the power of Christ I overcame it. To him alone be all the glory and praise of a suffering, which only his power and grace made so great, so glorious.

After all this, let me a little recreate my Reader, with a small story of a passage falling out, while I was in *Guernsey* Castle. On a time, a pigeon sitting neere my chamber window (where my daily feeding of them made them so familiar, as they would follow me up and downe the Castle) a wild hauke suddenly plummes upon her, and bears her downe to the ground, above four stories, and falls a preying on her. I beheld it a while from my window, and presently thereupon ran downe to rescue the dove, though I was to run above a flight shot off; I ran, and found the hauke still upon the pigeon, and when I was ready

to cease on the hauke, she flew off, and then the poore Pigeon took her faint flight also, the bold hauke pursuing her about the Castle; but the dove escaped, for any thing I could heare. This use I made of it; I compared the Dove to the Church, and the Hauke to the enemies of it, hoping that, though for a time the Hauke get the Dove under to prey upon her; yet deliverance shall come in the nick: in the Mount will the Lord be seene, and the Church shall escape, but hardly; but whether by flight (as *Revel. 12.*) or otherwise, that rests only in our Great Deliverers hand. This by the way.

But now it is high time to close it up. For *November 15. 1640.* being the Lords day, a Bark comes to *Guernsey* from *England* with friends, and an Order from the Honourable House of Commons for my enlargement, and returne for *England*. Blessed tidings indeed, and the more, because it came from a Parliament; and yet more, in that it was the Parliaments handsaile, presenting much good, but promising much more. The Newes filled the Castle with joy, and so the Island. The first observation I made of it, was of the day, on which this tydings came. First, I noted it was the Lords day, which day I had mightily propugned and defended, both by preaching and writing against the malignant and profane adversaries of the sanctification thereof, and of its morality. And when the book for dispensation, and allowance of sports on that day, came with an injunction to be publicly read in my Church upon a Lords day; that very day, in stead of reading of it (which I utterly abhorred to doe, as an abominable thing) I turned my afternoon preaching into an opening of the fourth Commandement, therein proving the Lords day, to wit the first day of the week, to succeed the seventh, or last day of the week, both for Sabbath, and Sanctification under the Gospel. Now the newes and Order for my enlargement comming to me on the Lords day, I took it as a gracious reward of mercy from God, whose day I had formerly stood for against all the adversaries thereof. Again, secondly this day was the fifteenth day of the month, to wit *November*, which was the first day of the last month that made up the three yeares and a halfe from the day of my Censure; and so was fulfilled that which I spake before at *Coventry*, to the said Reverend Ministers, *Mr Nalton*, and *Mr Hughes*, that three yeares and a halfe hence we should meet againe and be merry. For *June 14. 1637.* was my Censure, and *November 15. 1640.* was the first day of the last month that made up three yeares and a halfe: so as the Parliaments Order calling me forth of prison

prison to be presented before them, seemed to me to be that great voice from heaven, saying to the two Wirnesses, after their lying dead three dayes and a halfe (three yeares and a halfe) unburied, Come up hither. Moreover I observed, that I had come to *Guernsey* on the fifteenth day of the month and three yeares after, on the fifteenth day of the month, taking that month current from the fifteenth day, came my release. And the like did my brother *Prin* of his comming to *Jarsey*, which was on the seventeenth day of the month, and his release came to him on the seventeenth day of the month: so punctuall is God in doing all things, in number, weight, and measure, could we but take a right measure of his doings in all the passages of his Providence.

On Tuesday the seventeenth, the messengers came to my brother *Prin*; so as by Thursday after he came to me to *Guernsey*, where we being feasted by all the Ministers there, and more especially by Mr *De-lamarch* at his house, and my selfe by some worthy Merchants in the Towne: we were no sooner ready to set saile, but the wind came about for us to goe for *England*. And here I cannot omit to observe the sweet Providence of God, in bringing our friends from *London* so prosperously. They came on Thursday from *London* to *Southampton*, the next day they provided a Bark, the while the wind was opposite, but Saturday morning, the fourteenth, they being ready, the wind came about and brought them the next day to *Guernsey*. They staid not one day for the wind in comming, nor we for going for *England*. On Saturday the 21. about two of the clock in the afternoone, taking our leave of the worthy Lieutenant, and the rest, we set saile for *England*; where the wind, by a gentle gale, brought us the next day at night, being the Lords day, to arrive. And here againe I observe two speciall passages of the divine Providence. First, that the wind blowing slack, and the night comming on, and we being now distant from the maine land three or foure leagues, so as the master was somewhat perplexed for want of wind; we encouraged him, and thereupon all our company went into the hold, and fell to sing Psalmes: Wee had no sooner begun to sing, but presently the wind began to whistle up, so that we might heare the Bark to rowse through the waves: we continued our singing, and the wind continued his blowing, untill just as we had done singing, the master had cast anchor, we not knowing it, till we came upon the deck, for which we blessed our God. The second Circumstance was, that in the very same place,

place, where I had parted last from *England*, did our Bark now cast anchor for *England*, God so disposing it by his wind. And this was in the mouth of *Dartmouth*, where leaving our Bark to goe for *South-hampton* with our Stuffe, we lodged in *Dartmouth* that night, concluding and refreshing our long Pilgrimage with the close of the Sabbaticall rest of that day.

The next day, being courteously entertained of some of the best of the Towne, who also provided us horses, being nine or ten in company, we hastened for *London*; and came that night to *Exceter*, within night, where we saw the faces of many religious people, who most lovingly entreated us, many of them accompanying us the next day out of the City. We rode the next day to *Lime*, where comming, though somewhat late in the evening, we were kindly entertained by the reverend and godly Minister there, Mr *Geere*, and by a worthy Justice of the Peace. Thence we set forward the next morning before day, hastening to come to the Lecture at *Dorchester*, which we did; being there refreshed both in soule and body, where we were saluted, and entertained by many worthy Christians. After dinner the same day we rode on our journey, lodging at a private Towne betweene *Dorchester* and *Salisbury*. The next day we dined at *Salisbury*, where we visited Mr *Thatcher*, a reverend and laborious Minister there, but very sickly at that time, and since deceased: whence in the afternoone, being accompanied by sundry good Christians in the City, we rode to *Andover* that night, being in the way met by sundry good Christians of that Towne, who entertained us very courteously, and accompanied us on in our journey the next day; on which, being Friday, we reached to *Egham* that night, being met by the way, before we came at *Bagshot*, by many of our loving friends and neighbours of *London*, and especially my Friday-street neighbours, my old Parishioners; and when we were not farre past *Bagshot*, we were met by my most loving and dear wife, who came accompanied with many loving friends, and worthy Citizens of *London*; among whom was that most affectionate friend, Mr *Willingham*, and his loving wife, who came with my wife in the Coach, which he had provided for that purpose. What expressions of joy and love there were at our meeting, cannot be expressed. Well, to *Egham* we came in the close of the day, where every house brought forth a light to light us to our lodging, where we were most nobly entertained by multitudes of friends, that from *London* met us there. They called it our wedding night, which was principally celebrated by

by that worthy and reverend Minister of *Egham*, Mr *Rayner*; who prayed with us, with solemne giving of thanks, expressed also in singing of Psalmes, which he had most fitly and sweetly composed of many parts and parcels of Psalmes, very admirably accommodated to the present occasion; and all which, continuing almost a whole houre, Mr *Rayner* repeated without book.

The next morning very early all our company was ready, and after prayer took horse, being on our journey for *London* before the Sunne arose. Of the whole traine, consisting of two or three hundred, many went out of *Egham*, not without their branches of Rosemary and Bayes, as Ensignes of the wedding: insomuch as all the way as wee rode, the poore people brought forth whole baskets of Rosemary and Bayes, to furnish every one in the traine, which continually was increased by the way. At every Towne the Bells were rung as we passed through, the streets being strowed with people to see our faces. But by the way I observed the Sunne rising with an extraordinary brightnesse by reason of the clearnesse of the ayre, the whole skie notwithstanding being covered over from side to side round about with one entire cloud, as it were a seamlesse mantle or vaile upon the whole hemisphære, only the Sunne unclouded; But still as the Sunne mounted higher and higher, this mantle or cloud did by degrees draw back, and give way to the Sunne, and so passed before it, untill the cloud did, by degrees, wholly vanish, as driven away by the Sunnes brightnesse, without the least breath of wind to cause it so to passe away. This was observed also by many in the company; so as, though it were the end of *November*, yet after the Sunne had chased away the cloud which fled before it, never was there a day in *Somer* more cleare, more bright, more sweet and comfortable then that was. And it was the more to be observed, because all the dayes in our journey, from our first landing, were much clouded, and thickned with mists or fogs, only begining to cleare up as we approached to *Egham*, where our friends met us. So as the extraordinarinesse of this dayes brightnesse and beauty, so cleared up as before, made some impression in my minde of a sweet and glorious day, or time, which the Sun of righteousness, arising over *England*, which healing under his wings, was now about to procure for us, after once that black cloud which hanged over the Land, was by degrees chased away. But this by the way.

Nor did the cloud faster wane before the Sun, then the faces of our friends from *London* began more and more to shine, being now multi-

plied, as it were into so many constellations of bright starres; by the reflection whereof, our way towards *London* seemed to be another *via lactea*, or γαλαξία, as the Philosopher calls it, that milkie-white brightnesse, which we see in the heavens in a cleare starry night.

But now in the midst of all this glory and favour cast upon us, and shining forth from the faces and affections of Gods people, I began to see, and to be sensible of a farre greater danger, then I had beene in during all the time of my imprisonment and exile. For then and there I displayed all my sailes, to be filled with the gentle gales of comforts breathing from heaven upon me: but now I saw a necessity of taking in my sailes, lest the wind of Gods favour, and of his peoples affections blowing so strongly, yet sweetly, upon me, might overturne, and sink my brittle Bark now in the very bosome of the haven. For I began now to feele some stirrings within me, Satan now labouring to overthrow me (as he did *Adam*) in this my seeming Paradise; which he could not doe while I lay on *Jobs* dunghill. Therefore as the Mariner, seeing an Herican approaching, presently takes in his sailes: so did I now, I descried in this calme a storme abrewing; hereupon I did retire my thoughts inward, and did earnestly pray to the Lord, that he would no lesse strongly support me with his hand now in this prosperous condition, then he had done formerly in all my sufferings. And the Lord heard me; for both for the present he answered me, My grace is sufficient for thee, my heart all the way as I rode, putting it selfe in a posture of defence against Satans fiery darts, and couching so low, that his bullets flew all over my head: and afterwards, lest I should be exalted with abundance of salutations in *London* streets, and abroad, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet me, as we shall heere anon.

Thus we are in our way to *London*; we dine at *Brainford*, where not only all the Innes, but streets were filled; the company flowing in as a maine springtide, not only filling the high way, but overflowing the banks all along. They were multiplied at *Brainford* to many thousands, horses and coaches filling the Road from thence to *London*; which no lesse filled the Adversaries hearts with envy and madnesse, who for so long time before had rejoyced and made merry, during our durance. A little before I came to *Charing Crosse* (as before is touched) a woman being on foot in the midst of the horse, called to me, and said, O Sir, this is a glorious wedding day: To whom I replied, It is indeed, good woman, blessed be God. Yea, said she againe,

again, but your wedding day upon the pillary was more glorious. I admiring this speech of the woman, answered, indeed it is true; And truly so it was; for my suffering on the pilary was made glorious by an inward spirituall power, and hand of heaven upon my soule, making it to ride as it were in triumph, in that charret: but this my returne from captivity was attended with an externall glory shining forth from humane favour; although all was the effect and fruit of Gods mercy and providence, causing the same; who in all, is to be blessed for ever.

And when I was newly past Charing Crosse, over against the Mewes, Sir Peter Osburne, Governor of Guernsey, where I was prisoner, was staying in his Coach, with the boot downe (no doubt as he was appointed) to receive me into his coach, and so to carry me to his house, at Chelsey; which he tendering unto me, I desired his honour to excuse me, seeing I was all in a sweat, and fit to goe no where, but to my owne house, lest my health might be endangered. He pressed me againe and againe: I answered still as before. Then said he, take notice that I have required you to goe with me: I replied, And I pray you Sir take notice of the answer, and reason I give you, why I dare not goe with you. So he dismissed me; and we rid on; the streets all along, on each side thronged with people, and all the houses, and windowes from the Mewes, to my house in Alderman-bury, full of beholders of all sexes, and ages of all sorts; we were three long houres in passing from the Mewes, to Alderman-bury. Against my coming home that night, some friends waiting in my house for my coming, one of them espied there a strange man in a scarlet cloake, muffled about his face; and being demanded what he was, and not giving a cleare answer, they wished him to be gone; whereupon he went his way. So I coming safely home, enjoyed naturall rest in mine own house; and the next day, being the Lords Sabbath, spirituall, and corporall rest from all my labours past.

On the monday following, my brother *Prin* and I went to attend the House of Commons; my brother *Bastwick* being not yet returned from *Sillo*. We presented our persons with our petitions to the House, for the hearing of our cause. It was granted; a speciall Committee was appointed for the examination of our cause; and in the same Order of the House to the same Committee (a thing wherein the hand of divine Providence is not a little sette) it was ordered, that after the examination of our causes, the Courts and proceedings both of the High

Ph. 3. 8.

2 Cor. 12. 9

Commission, and Starre chamber should be examined; and the issue was; our cause was declared and voted first by the Committee, and after by the whole House, to be innocent, and all the proceedings of those Courts against us illegal, against the lawes of the land, and the liberties of the subject: and on the other side, both those Courts were alike voted to be illegal; and thereupon an Act was drawne up, and passed, and stands now in force, for the utter abolishing of both those Courts. So they are brought downe, and fallen, and we are risen, and stand upright. And blessed be the Lord, that both those Courts fell under such a Cause, as gives them no just cause to complaine. But for our cause, although the honourable House of Commons have voted it so farre for the clearing of us, as it can yet goe: yet the Transmission thereof to the House of Lords is not hitherto passed, for a recompence of our wrongs sustained. But herein we are patients with the whole land, which lyes a bleeding, while the cause of innocent blood cannot find redresse. Yet blessed be God, that by vertue of that vote I have liberty to preach; although I have suffered not a little for that first Sermon I preached, after my liberty obtained, as my first fruits paid to the Parliament at *Westminster*. Clamors were raised by some malignant spirits, and received too credulously by some of the better minded, who had not heard the Sermon; which the more grieved me. But how justly same did censure me, the Sermon it selfe (if once it may obtaine licence to be printed, which it hath a long time waited for) will clearly show. Many other wrongs have I suffered, both by false reports, and by bookes published under the name of Mr. *Burton* in generall, which the simple hearted people took to be mine; being only counterfeited to get away their farthings. But the righteous judge will one day cleare all. When the next day after that Sermon I was taken with a fit of the stone, the first sensible fruit of my long close imprisonment; same gave it out, that it was for griefe and shame of my said Sermon. Though after this, I have had sundry fits of the stone. I might mention many other reproaches cast upon me, since my enlargement, which I have learned the more easily to digest, and contemne, (saying only that I take them as messengers of Satan, sent to buffet me) by my experience in my greater sufferings. He that hath stood an innocent upon the pillary, and there had his eares cut off, which he endured with not only patience, but alacrity, and triumph: cannot he (trow you) brook to be unjustly branded for an *Infamous* person, and that by such as were the prime authors of such

such bloody, and barbarous cruelty, but he must needs be sick for sorrow of that, which he accounts his glory and crowne? Or shall such a one be ashamed to beare in his body such glorious marks of the Lord Jesus? Or, he that choole rather to be deprived of all, liberty, livelyhood, eares, credit with the malignant world, degrees in schooles, yea his sweet native country, wife, children, friends, all outward comforts, rather then betray the cause of Christ, and basely yeild to unreasonable and absurd men: after the suffering of all these, is it so easie a matter (thinke you) to overthrow such a one with the impotent breath of a man that shall dye; or of the son of man, that shall be made as grasse? should I now at last so forget the *Lord my maker*, as to feare continually every day, because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy; of whom the Prophet saith, *And where is the fury of the Oppressor?* Behold my witnesse is in Heaven, and my Record is on high. And certainly, if witnessing the Truth against Falshood, and openly detecting the machinations of Apostats (if ever they were other then dissembling Hypocrites, before their vizors were pulld off) deserve the brand of *An infamous disturber of the peace of this Church, and State*; I will weare it as a badge of the greatest honour of my service to Christ in this World. And I blesse my Lord who accounted me faithfull, and put me in this service, and enabled me so therein, as to deserve to be reproached no other wise then the Prophet *Elijah* was by the grand disturber and troubler of *Israel*, to whom the Prophet replied *I Kings. 13. 17, 18.* *I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy fathers house, in that ye have forsaken the Commandements of the Lord, and have followed Baalim.* And if by [*This Church*] be understood the Prelaticall or Hierarchicall and by [*State*] a Tyrannicall, and lawlesse Government, I heartily thank God, that I have bin a *disturber* of these so, as never since that time they could peacably go on (as before they did) in their rebuilding of *Babel*, the end wherof wil be confusion, or in reedifying of *Jerico*, the curse wherof was the rooting out of the whole race, and posterity of the Rebuilder. *Iosh. 6: 16.*

What should I speake of the many reproaches and infamies, which I have undergone since the clearing of my Cause in the honorable House of Commons, ever to be honoured of all posterity? But this was my comfort all along, even the clearenesse of my Conscience, being not guilty to my selfe of any just cause by me given, why any, (unlesse Prelaticall and Iesuiticall spirits, or such as are through ignorance seduced by them) should fall so fowle upon me, saving that the more any man endeavors to come neere to Christ, and so to shake off the shackles of sinne and yoke of Antichristian usurpation over the soules of men the

Rev. 18. 13.

Luk. 13. 24. more necessarily and unavoidably he must passe the pikes of all those
 whose conversation in the world cannot find elbow-room enough to
 walke in Christs narrow way, which leadeth unto life. Nor need this
 be made a wonder in our dayes, which hath bin the perpetuall practise
 Gen. 3. 15. of the world in all ages since Christ had a Church upon earth since the
 Lord himselfe put that enmity between the Serpent and the Woman,
 and between her seed and his; yea in this Age of ours (wherein Sa-
 rans wrath is so great, because he knoweth, that he hath but a short
 time, and wherein the ten horned Beast, and his limmes are fighting
 their last battell in *Harmageddon*, whither the Almighty himself brings
 Revel. 16. them, that he might shew himselfe to be the Almighty in giving the
 14. 16. last and most terrible defeat to all their power and plots) not to see
 such an enmity were a wonder, when we have already seene what a
 wonder-working age it hath been (as before hath been touched) and
 certainly shall yet see greater things then these. And therefore for poor
 me to be set in the Front (as it were) of this battell between Christ
 and Antichrist, and to be shot at, as a prime kindler of the coals; what
 wounds I receive from the adversaries, I shall weare them as crownes
 upon me, whose weight the greater it is, the more sensible thereof is my
 weaknesse and unworthinesse to bear it.

Again, how I have been reproached and reviled by those two Cham-
 pions of *Canterbury*, to wit, Dr. *Heylin*, and Dr. *Dow*, whom the Pre-
 late imployed in the writing and publishing of their two Bookes in
 answer to that of mine, *For God and the King*, I referre to every judi-
 cious, ingenuous, and Orthodox Reader of my Book and theirs. And
 they writ against me, when I was fast close Prisoner in the Fleet, bea-
 ting and wounding me at their pleasure, when I was bound hand and
 foot; and when (though I had had opportunity, which I had not,
 to answer them, yet) I could not have got my Book licensed for the
 Presse, or yet any man that durst print, when they saw the Author to
 be so used. As for their Answers to the Doctrinall points in my said
 Book, not onely the Reverend Ministers of *London* in their late Re-
 monstrance, exhibited unto the Honourable House of Commons, and
 openly debated and proved from point to point, have among other
 things taxed as erroneous, but my Doctrines themselves doe stand still
 unshaken, intire, and orthodox, notwithstanding all their proud and
 bold attempts to batter them downe. But where they cannot (as all
 along) fasten their envenomed darts against the Doctrines, they have
 sharpened their virulent stile against my person, sprinkling it all over
 with

with as black disgraces, as the Gall and Vinegar of their Inke, but much more of their imbittered and galled Spirit could poure forth. Dr. Dow spends his whole second Chapter professedly in going about to disgrace my whole course and manner of life; doing therein, as a Declamatory Orator, who having a bad Cause to plead, falls fowle in the first place upon the Person of his Adversary. As the Orator *Tertullus*, whom the High Priest's had feed to plead against *Paul*; who, after his colliguing Preface to *Felix*, for a favourable audience, he begins thus against *Paul*, saying, *We have found this man a Pestilent fellow, and a mover of Sedition among all the Jewes, &c.* And so this Doctor hath farfed his Chapter with many sore charges upon my Person. One is, *I can devise (saith he) no better Apologie, nor other way to free him from the just imputation of imbittered malice, and traitorous intentions; then to say, that discontent at once hath crackt his brain and his conscience.* To which I answer, *The Lord rebuketh thee* But he begins at my breeding in *Cambridge*, for *some short time* (as he saith) surely that *some short time* was six yeares together inire, taking my Degree of Mr. of Arts the next yeere. Well, what then? *Where he was never observed for any excellency, but that he could play well on an Instrument.* Surely I plead not excellencie in any thing. What God hath freely given me, I blesse him for. Yet this there be some yet living can testify, that I was so observed for a Ciceronean, that I was in request for making Orations for Gentlemen in the Collidge; which I speake not to glory of, but to tell Dr. Dow, that *H. B.* will at this day dispute with *Christopher Dow* either in *Launoi Gieck*. That I could play well on an Instrument, I thank God also; and the rather, because that quality was borne with me, and it never was any hindrance but a furtherance to my studies. But after he was a Schoole-master in a Noble-mans house, (saith he) hee found the favour to be admitted to a meane place in the Closet of his Majesty that now is, then Prince of Wales: which sometime he was wont to execute in his hose and dublet, with a performing pot in one hand, and a fire-shovell in the other; and as I have heard, received for his paines 5. pound per annum, and a Livery. Now all these particulars he relates, as so many disgraces upon my person. Why? was't a disgrace for a yong man as I was, for a while to teach the two Noble sonnes of a Nobleman in a Noble house? And for the favour I found in Court to be admitted to a mean place, in the Closet of his Majesty that now is, then Prince of Wales: our Doctor here is quite out. For first, the place in the Closet, how meane soever he accounts it, which I was admitted in-

to, was the whole office of the Princes Closet, both the Great and the Privie Closet, intirely. I had the Charge of all, to provide furniture and Books, and all requisites for those Closets, which came to no small value. 'Tis true indeed, that by the Prelaticall party working in the Kings Court, and which ever had a malignant eye upon me, I was kept from the Title of Clerke, but I had the Office of Clerk: So as when the Princes servants were to be allowed two parts of three, proportionably to the Kings servants, I had for 20. nobles (th. Clerkes wages of the Kings Closet) 5. pound allowed to me. For the Livery, it was just the same that the Kings Clerke had; but for my part, I never received it, because I never demanded it, being a red Jacket, and I wot not what else, an old absolute Livery for the Clerke: But the Doctor hath (I know not through what error) quite omitted the best part of the time that I spent in Court. For my first Court service was to that most noble, and of ever most glorious memory, Prince *Henry*, whom I served upon seven yeares space; and which I would have been willing to have served many seven yeers in my dublet and hose, even in a far meaner office, conditionally it had pleased God to have continued his life so long. A gracious Prince and Master he was to me; hee was pleased often to admit me to speake with him alone, and for any motion I made to him, I ever received a most gracious answer. I could tell the Doctor, how when some Officers had in my absence given way to the Players to bring their bag and baggage into the Closet, there to dresse themselves, upon my complaint to his Highnesse, he did forbid it. Another time, from an old custome (and I being then out of the way) some of the Gentlemen dancing in the Great Closet, his Highnesse upon my complaint to him, quite forbade that also, saying (being with me alone in his Privie Closet, where he used me with the most sweet carriage and communication, that even one familiar would use unto another) that he would not have any to dance in his Closets, and bid me so to tell them from him. I could speak much more in this kind, but I forbear. Now if ever I waited in my hose and dublet, it was to that Noble Prince *Henry*. But be it knowne to Dr. *Dow*, that for all such offices, as of perfuming, and the like, I kept a servant to doe them, as the Kings Clerke did. I ever carried my selfe suitably to my degree, as a Scholler though living in Court, where I studied no lesse then if I had been in the University; Yet I remember, that one time my man being out of the way, and the Prince comming suddenly to Chappell, before we were aware, I not having my Cloake or Gowne on, snatcht
up

up the perfuming Pan, to sweeten the roome where the Prince was to passe, as the manner was. And this is all that *sometime*, that I did so, it being also a solemne time, when a great Prince (as I remember, the Palatine) came along with him.

But (saith he) *upon the Prince Charles his going into Spaine, H. B. whether his indiscretion did minister cause of suspicion, or what ever the cause were, certain it is, he was put out of the list for that voyage, and that when his goods were a Ship-board.* Here the Dr. againe is wide for my goods were not a Ship-board; heretof he cannot say, *Certain it is*; but *certaine it is*, I confesse, that I was put out of the List, and that also when my goods weretrunked: But *inter pontem & fontem misericordia Domini*: Between the City and the Ship was Gods mercy seene, which yet he imputes to some suspicion of my indiscretion. Indeed, if my plaine dealing against Popery, be indiscretion, I can hardly to this day, as old as I am, and as bitten as I have been, so avoid the suspicion, as not to make manifestation thereof, yea although it had been in *Spaine* it selfe; as *Paul* did in *Athens*, when he disputed with the Philosophers in *Areopagus*. And therefore I have cause to blesse God to this day, that I was *unlisted* for that Spanish Voyage, where perhaps some such indiscretion might have left me in the lurch of the Inquisition, where our Country-man Mr. *Bedle* had been for so many yeeres immured, whence no more redemption then from the Infernall Prison. And why should I have escaped in *Spaine* that Babylonish prison, when I could not escape the like in *England*? But what ever other cause it was on mans part, *Certaine it is*, that Gods good providence prevented that, that so this should not be prevented.

Acts 17.

But this he calls a little after, *His hoped Voyage into Spaine*. Indeed if Dr. *Dow* had been the man, well might he have called it, *His hoped Voyage into Spaine*, and so of his desired preferment thereby a Bishoprick at least; and I blesse God, that both I escaped the Voyage, and the Preferment too.

But *His Majesty upon his misbehaviour dismissed him the Court, whence being cashiered, and all his hopes of preferment dashed &c.* These malicious miscenceits of the Doctor are detected of wicked falsehood before. And so I will follow him in his Wild-goose Chase no further.

And now that he hath spit all his spite, what is all this heap of disgraces, being summed up together? All doth rot amount to this, that Mr. *H. B.* is either a drunkard or a whore-master, or any such vicious

H

person,

person, or an idle droane in his Ministry, or one that was ever, or would be a double benefited man, or one that favours Arminianisme, or Popery, or one that suffers his wife (had he such a one) to be his master, or his Curate hers. And now should I as diligently trace the steps of this Doctor, as he hath hunted mine; O Doctor, I will say no more, but draw a vaile over the rest: *Nolo in hoc ulcere esse unguis*. And so I leave both the Doctors to the righteous Judge of quick and dead.

And what shall I say to the grand master of these two Doctors, who for their so good service hath so richly rewarded them? But God reward both him and them according to their deeds.

And now it is time for me to shut up my discourse of the course of my life, it now drawing on apace to its finall period. As for the reproaches I have undergone by false brethren about my suffering, as that it was just, I will bundle them all up, either to burne them, as *Constantine* did, or to leave them in the hands of the righteous Judge of all the world, who will doe right. And here let me close with a story concerning my suffering; wherein it will appeare, that the righteous Judge from heaven hath set to his hand to the House of Commons, in the vindication of my Cause.

Since my returne from exile, a certaine Attorney at Law being then in the house of one Mrs *Monday*, then dwelling a little within Aldersgate in *Little Brittain*, Febr. 17. 1640. and mention being made of my name and sufferings, and Mrs *Monday* saying, that *England* had never thriven since he suffered; and that though she had never scene him yet she had shed many a teare for him: the said Attorney replied, Could so many wise men and Judges be deceived? for he suffered no more then he deserved, nor so much neither; and therefore what a pox (such was his language) should you be sorry for such a man as he? No sooner had these words passed from him, but his right eare suddenly and strangely fell a bleeding at the lower tip of it; and so long it bled, as it wet a whole handkercher, so as it might have beene wrung out; whereat his heart so fainted, that he sent for halfe a pint of Sack, and drunk it up himselfe alone. Whereat his brother then present, with sundry more, said unto him; You may see brother what it is to speak against Mr *Barton*: Yet such was this mans spirit, that in stead of taking notice of the hand of God herein, he continued cursing, saying, what a pox, had I not spoken a word against *Barton*, my eare would have bled; though he could not at that time shew any reason, or naturall cause, why his eare should then bleed, it being whole

whole and sound; so as upon the ceasing of the blood, Mrs *Mondays* maid wiping the blood off his eare, and looking wistfully upon it, could not discerne whence the blood should issue, but only a small pore, or hole no more then a pins point could goe into, there being neither scratch, nor scab, nor scarre upon his eare. The persons then present that saw this, were these; the Attorneys brother and his wife, Mrs *Adcock*, Mrs *Anne Roe*, Mrs *Joan Monday*, and *Ellin Hutton* her servant. All this Mrs *Monday* and her maid testified before sundry Christians of good credit, my selfe and wife being present.

Yet after this, within some few dayes, the said Attorney had found out a flamme, to make Mrs *Monday*, and others, beleewe, that the cause of that bleeding of his eare was by a razor, which he had borrowed two or three dayes before; wherewith he having cut his eare, and at that time rubbing it, it fell a bleeding. But neither was this put off ready at hand when his eare so fell a bleeding, nor did the maid discerne any such thing, save only one little hole no larger then a pins point, which could not possibly be made with a round razor.

But after this, for all this shavers device, he forbore any more to come to Mrs *Mondays* house; who asking him at her doore, why he was grown such a stranger, and praying him to come in, he refused, saying, No, I will come no more to your house to work miracles. But I pray God he may sinne no more, lest a worse thing happen unto him.

And now to stoppe the mouthes of this, and all other reproachers of my sufferings as just, I will only referre the Reader to those votes of the Honourable House of Commons, whereby he shall finde in the Book, entituled, *A New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny*, pag. 139. &c. my innocency is cleared to all the world, by that representative Body of this Kingdome.

FINIS.

